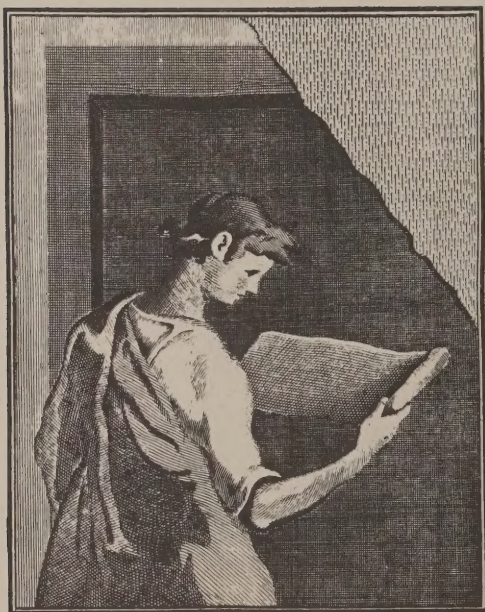




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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1914.

NOTES ON THE *AGAMEMNON*.

(Wecklein's numeration.)

259 sqq. (The chorus have narrated the events up to what immediately preceded the actual murder of Iphigeneia.)

τὰ δ' ἔνθεν οὔτ' εἶδον οὔτ' ἐννέπω·
260 τέχναι δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι.
Δίκη δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦ-
σιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει·
τὸ μέλλον δ'
ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις· προχαιρέτω·
265 ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν.
τορὸν γὰρ ἥξει σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς.
πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τὰπὶ τούτοισιν εὐπρα-
ξίς·

263 δ' add. Elmsley, 264 ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' a f h, ἐπιγένοιτ' M., 266 σύνορθρον Wellauer, συνορθὸν M., αὐγαῖς Hermann, αὐταῖς M.

Ll. 263 and 264 have been much vexed, and a string of conjectures will be found in Wecklein's appendix. All of them¹ produce roughly the same meaning—'it is useless to enquire into the future, which (l. 265) is bound to be disastrous.'

My complaint against these readings is that the whole antistrophe yields with them no reasonable sense. It is not true that the future 'will dawn clear with the light of day,' and if we prefer to read *σύνωρον ἄταις* (Ahrens) or the like, still no reasonable meaning can be attached to 267 sqq. 'The future is bound to be disastrous, but at any rate may prosperity be ours henceforward' is an absurd prayer, and 'the immediate future will be disastrous, but let us

¹ Except Margoliouth's ὁ μέλλον δ' ἐπεὶ γένηται κλέος, προχαιρέτω· | ἴσον δὲ τὸν προστένειν, which he renders *qui gavisurus est allato nuntio de excidio Troiae is iam nunc gaudeat; alium autem par est iam*

nunc lugere, ueniet autem luce clarior. This also produces no reasonable sense from the whole passage.

hope that the remote future will be prosperous,' if this meaning can be tortured from the Greek, is not much better.

The landmarks in the sentence are, I think, two in number. One is that Agamemnon has to pay for his sin in sacrificing Iphigeneia (261 sq., cf. 228 sqq.),¹ and the other is that *τὰπὶ τούτοις* means 'from this point on,' and that the prayer is for the immediate beginning of a new and prosperous era. It follows, therefore, that the period which the chorus know to be certainly lamentable must be the ten years which have elapsed since the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, during which the flower of Argos has been dying at Troy (cf. 435 sqq.); and of this period, if Clytemnestra's preparations mean anything, they may reasonably expect to have information in the morning.

What is to be done with the Greek I do not know. L. 259 must, I think, refer not to the ten years in question, but only to the actual sacrifice at which the narrative has stopped short; l. 260 alludes, therefore, to Calchas's forebodings of that sacrifice (154 sqq.), not to his general prophecies as to the campaign (131 sqq.). In l. 263, if *τὸ μέλλον* meant 'what was then in store for them,' all would be well;² but the neighbouring tenses forbid. Therefore *τὸ μέλλον* is corrupt: *τὸ λοιπόν* would give the required sense after a fashion. In 264, whatever word should replace *τὸ μέλλον*, the subject of *γένοιτο* is *τὸ κλύειν*, and the meaning is: 'you will hear <what has happened since> all in good time: till then let it be.' The general sequence of thought in the antistrophe is: 'Agamemnon's sin must have brought in its train disasters, of which we shall hear soon enough; let us hope that they are now ended and fortune once more favourable.'

427. ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις
ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

Cf. Ach. Tat. vi. 6, *μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κάθηται τὸ κάλλος*, and see the whole passage. Eumathius iii. 7, *τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατεφίλησα καὶ ὅλον εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνιμΗΣάμην τὸν ἔρωτα· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ἔρωτος πηγὴ*. Both suggest that the eyes are those of Helen not of Menelaus.

536 τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιότατος βροτῶν
τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελὴς πόλις
ἐξεύχεται τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.

'Agamemnon,' says the herald, 'is the most august of men—that is of men now alive, for Paris. . . .' Any unprejudiced person, asked to complete this sentence, would, I think, go on: 'who was formerly more worthy of honour, is now dead.' But that is not what Aeschylus says; on the contrary, he says

¹ I take it to be certain that 261, 2 embody the doctrine of instruction by suffering (cf. 187 with Headlam's note) and discount conjectures which

attach *τὸ μέλλον* to this sentence.

² If *τὸ μέλλον* is taken with *γένοιτο* alone, there is no subject for *προχαίρετω*.

that Paris, so far from being *τίεσθαι ἄξιος*, was *ὀφλὼν ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην* and has deservedly paid the penalty for his crimes. I have translated *τῶν νῦν* with emphasis, because if it were not emphatic it would not be there at all. *Ἀξιότατος βροτῶν* is a simple superlative (like, for example, *Ch.* 301 *εὐκλεεστάτους βροτῶν*): *τῶν νῦν* an unexpected qualification of the superlative which demands an explanation.¹ Since the qualification is not explained, and must in any case be irrelevant to this context, I take *τῶν νῦν* to be corrupt.

If we consider further the relation between Agamemnon's honour and the punishment of Paris, it is obvious that the relation is temporal rather than causal. Agamemnon has only been the most august of men *since* Paris paid the penalty; so long as he remained unpunished Agamemnon's reputation has been under a cloud. Write, therefore, *τὸ νῦν* or *τανῦν* for *τῶν νῦν*. *Νῦν* does not occur elsewhere with the article in Aeschylus, but *τὸ πρίν* appears more than once, *τὸ πρόσθε* in l. 1437 of this play, and *τὰ πρόσθε* in l. 19. The punctuation should be, I think,

. . . ἀξιότατος βροτῶν.
τανῦν Πάρις γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

831. 'By the vague *δοκοῦντας*, "certain ones in appearance," he conveys to them that he is quite aware of Clytemnestra's insincerity' (Headlam). Verrall (p. 220) also holds that Agamemnon suspects Clytemnestra, and these are the only two opinions on the subject I have been able to discover.

For the understanding of the *Agamemnon* as a whole it perhaps matters little whether Agamemnon knows what has been going on or not, but it makes a good deal of difference to our conception of this curious and ominous scene, and Aeschylus has, as it seems to me, been at pains to show that Agamemnon has no suspicions.

The chorus have said in effect (779 sqq.) 'appearances are deceptive and sympathy is often feigned, but to a discerning man the eyes betray those whose sympathy is hypocritical. My congratulations are sincere, but time will show who has been faithful, who unfaithful, in your absence.' To this Agamemnon presently replies (821 sqq.): 'I entirely agree with you,

παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τόδε,
φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνου σέβειν.

I know from my own experience how empty appearances of friendship are, for of all those who came to Troy with me Odysseus alone was whole-heartedly loyal. For the rest, political and religious questions shall be discussed in the assembly, and we will take measures to correct anything amiss.'

¹ The emphasis is due not to the metrical position of the words *τῶν νῦν* (Headlam, *On Editing Ae.*, pp. 5 sqq.) but to the order. According to Kühner-Gerth, *G.G.*, p. 613, the substantive in such phrases as *ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός* is defined only by the following phrase, and both

ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός and *ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός* involve a contrast. *Οἱ νῦν* and *οἱ νῦν ἀνθρώποι* are sometimes barely distinguishable in sense from *ἀνθρώποι*, but to defend *τῶν νῦν* here we require examples of *οἱ ἀνθρώποι οἱ νῦν* and *ἀνθρώποι οἱ νῦν* so used; and I do not know of any.

This conversation must be designed to show that Agamemnon suspects nothing. The chorus meant that Agamemnon must not be misled by the simulated warmth of Clytemnestra's welcome, but Agamemnon, when he embarks on a disquisition on the effects of *jealousy*, and speaks of constitutional measures to combat the evil, shows clearly that he has misunderstood. In Clytemnestra's attitude to her husband jealousy has no part, and her infidelity, if known, is surely matter for instant action by the king himself, not for leisured consideration and public debate. In Agamemnon's subsequent conversation with Clytemnestra he addresses her as 'guardian of my house,' and shows, if I read him aright, some impatience at her preparations, but a willingness to do as she wishes (935, 947), and even to rally her on the extravagance of her welcome and her obstinacy in argument (906, 931). Nowhere does he treat her as he would be bound to treat her if he knew the truth,¹ and surely much of the poignancy of the situation depends on the confident self-sufficiency with which he fails to understand the hints of the chorus. It is this failure, as much as the generally disquieting course of the subsequent dialogue, which arouses in the chorus the forebodings expressed in 966 sqq.

1028 οὐ δ' οὐποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἤμῃσαν καλῶς
 ὦμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην.
 ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῖν οἷάπερ νομίζεται.
 1030 ἔξεις Auratus.

Opinion is divided as to whether *παρὰ στάθμην* means 'beyond' the *στάθμη* or 'according to' it, 'unreasonable' or 'precise.' The phrase, however, occurs elsewhere,² and always with the second meaning; and since *στάθμη* is a plumb-line, τὸ σπαρτίον· *στάθμην* ἰθυτενῇ μολιβαχθεά (Suidas), *παρά* might perhaps be expected to have the force it has in *παρὰ ποταμόν*, not that which it has in *παρὰ νόμον*. But if *παρὰ στάθμην* means 'exact,' 'precise,' then *ὦμοί καὶ παρὰ στάθμην* is a ridiculous anticlimax, and it is probable that *παρὰ στάθμην* belongs to the next clause.

Moved, I suppose, by these considerations, Wilamowitz writes:

<πικροὶ πολίταις εἰς ἡμῶν ἐπηρμένους>
 ὦμοί τε δούλοις. πάντα κ.τ.λ.

but it is unnecessary to suppose a lacuna. We may accept *γε* from Thiersch³ and write:

ὦμοί γε δούλοις πάντα· καὶ παρὰ στάθμην
 ἔξεις παρ' ἡμῖν οἷάπερ νομίζεται.

'Here you will have the regular allowances, and they will be regularly

¹ *Λήδας γένεθλον* in 905 is no doubt, as Verrall says, a sinister address, but it is not necessarily so meant by Agamemnon, and the whole scene is packed with dramatic irony. The form of words is not in itself remarkable; cf. 775.

² Theognis, 543, 945; Soph. *fr.* 421. In Eur.

Ion 1514 the metaphor seems to be different.

³ I have not seen Thiersch's note, but I suppose he wished to translate 'cruel even to excess.' If the *γε* is to be classified, it may be called apodotic. Examples of this usage are given by Neil in his edition of the *Knights*, pp. 199 sq.

distributed': there will be, for example, no unfairness such as Sceledrus complains of at Plaut. *Mil.* 348.

1321 ἄπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν ἣ θρήνον θέλω
ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς.

I agree with Professor Housman (*J. Phil.* 1888, p. 278) and Professor Platt (*C.R.* 1897, p. 96) that ῥῆσιν ἣ is intolerable, and with Professor Platt that it is probably patchwork. Remove ῥῆσιν ἣ, and the only natural and tolerable supplement seems to me to be πρὶν θανεῖν. Since, therefore, πρὶν θανεῖν may very easily have fallen out owing to the repeated -ειν, I conclude that that is what Aeschylus wrote.

Professor Platt takes exception to εἰπεῖν θρήνον, but it is defended by λέγειν παιᾶνα at 650. The paean there contemplated is a messenger's speech, that is to say senarii, and Cassandra's θρήνος is also in senarii. It is a θρήνος in substance but in form a ῥῆσις, and εἰπεῖν seems to me appropriate to its peculiar character. In any case the copyist who found a blank and filled it with ῥῆσιν ἣ did so because he had εἰπεῖν before him.

I would add that the word θρήνος, which is certified here both by ἄπαξ ἔτι and ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς, seems fatal to Headlam's proposal to assign 1326-1329 to the chorus. The whole speech 1321-1329 will barely pass muster as a θρήνος as it is, and it will only pass by virtue of 1326-1329, which are in some sense Cassandra's epitaph. Give those lines to the chorus and she is left with only a curse, which is neither a θρήνος nor an adequate sequel to the weighty preface of 1321 sq. If something is lost after 1325, then the rest of the speech may go to the chorus; otherwise it must all be left to Cassandra.

1536 Δίκα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θήγει βλάβης
πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναις μοῖρα
δίκα h θηγάνει Hermann.

What is required in this sentence is an object to θήγει or θηγάνει. Musgrave's θηγάναις μάχαιραν or Housman's θηγάναισιν ἄορ would either of them do very well but for *Ch.* 643 Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται πυθμῆν· | προχαλκεύει δ' αἶσα φασγανουργός, which defends μοῖρα¹ and, as a consequence, involves the dative δίκα. Emperius's θήγεται does not seem to me satisfactory, nor Auratus's δίκην, nor Headlam's tentative βλάβας. Βλάβης is not easily emended into any word meaning 'sword,' it is in itself appropriate to the context, and βλάβης θηγάναις, if that is how the words are to be taken, receives at least a qualified support from *Eum.* 861.

There is therefore no room in the existing sentence for the missing object²

¹ Cf. also *Ch.* 909 sq.

the unpleasant line Δίκα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμ' ἄορ
θήγει βλάβης.

² It can just be got in by writing, with Heusde,

and room must be made for it. Probably ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα is a gloss on πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάταις, and, if this is so, θήγει may well be right, for it is the form used by Aeschylus elsewhere, and syllabic correspondence is not required in lyric senarii.¹ Aeschylus's actual words are of course lost beyond recall, but he might, I imagine, have written something like :

Δίκα δὲ καινὸν φάσγανον θήγει βλάβης
πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάταισι μοῖρα.

1651 XO. εἶα δὲ ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.

AI. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.

The repetition of πρόκωπος in 1652, where it bears an entirely different and otherwise unknown sense,² has been received with unusual tolerance by editors, and Wecklein's appendix records no objections to it. To me it seems exceedingly clumsy, and I suppose it to be due to a copyist's reminiscence of the preceding line. The word which Aegisthus should echo is not πρόκωπος but ξίφος, and the most obvious correction is ξιφήρης, which I find has already been proposed by Herwerden (*Mnemosyne*, 1892, p. 446). The word ξιφήρης, however, appears first in Euripides, and we should perhaps borrow from *Eum.* 595 the Aeschylean ξιφουλκός.³

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¹ Cf., e.g., *Eum.* 169=174.

² The lexicons quote Herodian vii. 5, ἔχων πρόκωπον τὴν δεξιάν, 'hand on hilt,' which is an extension of the ordinary ἔχων πρόκωπον τὸ ξίφος

(cf. Suidas s.v. : cf. *Eur. Or.* 1477). It is still far from the supposed Aeschylean use.

³ *Eum.* 595 ξιφουλκῶ χειρὶ : cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 363 ξιφήρη χειρὶ ἔχων.

EMENDATIONS IN PLATO'S *PHAIDROS*.

Phaidros, 230d.

THE sentence ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ . . . ἄγουσιν, as it stands, seems to be unsatisfactory. The meaning is left too vague. We expect some such subject as βουκόλοι or ποιμένες after οἱ, and the object (τὰ πεινῶντα θρέμματα) of ἄγουσιν is placed awkwardly next to that of προσείοντες. We feel that προσείοντες goes too closely with ἄγουσιν to have anything to do with the article. It may be entirely detached by taking it more or less as a parenthetical remark. Instead of the article we must read the relative, as its antecedent ἐκεῖνοι can be dropped, according to other examples given in Ast's *Lexicon Platonicum*. Cf. *Gorgias*, 511e :

εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς βελτίους ἐξεβίβασεν ἢ οὐκ ἐνέβησαν, κ.τ.λ.

In these two passages the relatives corroborate the evidence of B,T,P, and editors without reason follow F,t, here in reading οἱοι.

So the sentence runs : ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ πεινῶντα θρέμματα, θαλλὸν ἢ τινα καρπὸν προσείοντες, ἄγουσιν, κ.τ.λ.

Phaidros, 236c.

The absolute use of εὐλαβήθητι.

Cobet tries to solve the difficulty by cutting the knot. Schanz and Burnet follow him in deleting this verb. It seems that the only objection taken to its presence is that its correct meaning has been a puzzle to editors. When the eye of a scribe has been deceived, or when a copyist has disturbed a passage, it is only fair to suppose that the source of error is to be discovered on the two pages of the MS. open before him at the time of writing the sentence in which the corruption is found. Now, no other passage occurs on the two pages of the facsimile B before us in which the presence of this verb is in the least required to give sense ; nor can we entertain the idea that it has found its way into the text from a scholiast's marginal note. There is no occasion for annotation. We may add that this form of the imperative is too old and sound to be looked upon as more or less the usual thing a scholiast's fancy hits upon for annotations. So the only way open to us is to leave it undisturbed in its present position and explain it as best we can. If we punctuate differently by putting a comma and a dash after ἀλλήλοις, the sentence runs : ῥητέον μὲν γάρ . . . ἀλλήλοις,—εὐλαβήθητι καὶ μὴ βούλου κ.τ.λ. In Sophocles, *O.R.* 47, we

find this verb used absolutely: ἴθ', εὐλαβήθηθ', ὥς κ.τ.λ. 'Be on your guard'; or, as Jebb explains: 'Have a care for thy repute.' Here, too, in our passage a warning note is sounded, as is shown by the anticipatory thought: οὕτως ὅπως οἶός τε εἶ.

Cobet's method robs the sentence of its artistic effect, whereas its dramatic interest is fully sustained when we interpret the verb in the light of Sophoclean usage. The final clause is to be linked to the first part of the sentence, and not as T blundered by inserting a δέ after ἴνα, making it dependent on εὐλαβήθητι.

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ON THE ARISTOTELIAN USE OF ΛΟΓΟΣ: A REPLY.

IN the June issue of the *Classical Review* Professor Cook Wilson announces his conversion to the view that in 'a well-defined group' of passages in the *Nicomachean Ethics* λόγος means Reason. While I cannot hope to re-convert Professor Cook Wilson, I feel that it is worth while to try to express the reasons for which it seems difficult to follow him.

The most central of the passages in which he gives λόγος this meaning is the definition of ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ in 1106 b 36: ἔστιν ἄρα ἡ ἀρετὴ ἕξις προαιρετικὴ, ἐν μεσότητι οὖσα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὠρισμένη λόγῳ καὶ ὥς (or ᾧ) ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὀρίσειεν. The fact that this is a definition precludes loose or popular phraseology, and if λόγος here means Reason, it must be admitted that such a use of the word is regular or technical in Aristotle's philosophical writing. My chief objections to accepting the suggested translation 'prescribed by Reason' are as follows: (1) There is, so far as I know, no list of 'parts' or faculties of ψυχὴ in the works of Aristotle which contains the term λόγος. In the *Ethics* itself we are familiar with the phrase τὸ λόγον ἔχον, which implicitly denies that λόγος is a faculty; and in the sixth book we have (a) a list of the three controlling principles of πράξις and ἀλήθεια (αἴσθησις, νοῦς, ὀρεξις—1139 a 18); (b) a list of the five sources of true judgment (τέχνη, ἐπιστήμη, φρόνησις, σοφία, νοῦς—1139 b 16): in neither list is λόγος to be found. Its place, we shall have to say, is taken in both cases by νοῦς. But surely it is unlike Aristotle to use in the actual defining formula of one of the central terms of the treatise an ambiguous synonym for νοῦς, without a word of explanation, instead of the unambiguous term νοῦς itself. (2) The form of the phrase ὠρισμένη λόγῳ seems to me to give a presumption against the translation 'prescribed by Reason.' When the passive voice of ὀρίζειν is joined with a noun in the dative, that noun is never the defining faculty, or judge, or legislator, but rather the standard, or measure, or mark, by which the definition is effected: it is, in fact, the ὅρος in question. The middle use is similar. Ὀρίζεσθαι τι τινί means to distinguish something by a certain mark, the mark being in the dative. In the active the subject is properly the mark, but often there is a personal or quasi-personal subject, as in the concluding clause of the sentence under discussion. The following are typical instances—(a) passive: *de An.* 435 b 16 τῇ ἀφ᾽ ἧ ὠρίζεται τὸ ζῆν; *Pol.* 1235 a 23 πάντα τῷ ἔργῳ ὠρίζεται; *N.E.* 1115 b 22 ὀρίζεται ἕκαστον τῷ τέλει—(b) middle: *N.E.* 1166 a 10 τούτων δέ τινι καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ὀρίζονται: *N.E.* 1170 a 16 τὸ δὲ ζῆν ὀρίζονται τοῖς ζῴοις δυνάμει αἰσθήσεως—(c) active: *De Caelo* 293 b 13 τὸ δ' ὀρίζον τὸ πέρασ· *Ib.* 297 b 34

ὁ ὀρίζων κύκλος; *Phys.* 219 a 22 τὸν χρόνον γνωρίζομεν, ὅταν ὀρίσωμεν τὴν κίνησιν, τῷ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον ὀρίζοντες. I am unable to find in Aristotle any parallel to the phrase ὀρισμένη λόγῳ if λόγος is taken to stand for the faculty of Reason. The phrase ought to mean that, in one of the various applications of the term ὅρος, a λόγος is the ὅρος of the μεσότης in which ἡθικὴ ἀρετή is said to consist. If it means that, the translation 'reason' seems to be out of the question.¹ (3) Instead of following Professor Cook Wilson in detail into an examination of the various passages which he adduces to illustrate and support his contention, I will now try to state the interpretation of λόγος which seems to me to be the true one. In so proceeding I follow the Aristotelian principle that the proofs of one theory are the difficulties of its rival; and the procedure in this case is the more necessary because Professor Cook Wilson has done less than justice to the view from which he is a convert. I start from the following passage of the *De Partibus Animalium*:

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἐπεὶ πλείους ὀρώμεν αἰτίας περὶ τὴν γένεσιν τὴν φυσικὴν, οἷον τὴν τε οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ τὴν ὅθεν ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, διοριστέον καὶ περὶ τούτων, ποία πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα πέφυκεν· φαίνεται δὲ πρώτη, ἣν λέγομεν ἔνεκά τινος· λόγος γὰρ οὗτος, ἀρχὴ δ' ὁ λόγος ὁμοίως ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ ἐν τοῖς φύσει συνεστηκόσιν. ἡ γὰρ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἢ τῇ αἰσθήσει ὀρισάμενος ὁ μὲν ἰατρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν, ὁ δ' οἰκόδομος τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀποδιδόασιν τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας οὗ ποιοῦσιν ἐκάστου, καὶ διότι ποιητέον οὕτως (639 b 11-19).

The passage deals, it is true, with τέχνη not ἀρετή, with ποίησις not πρᾶξις, but the comparison of the two forms of activity given in *N.E.* II. iv. does not exhibit any distinction of principle between them on the intellectual side, while the closely parallel definitions of φρόνησις and τέχνη given in VI. iv.² suggest an identity of principle. Of the various kinds of cause, says Aristotle, the primary is the final cause, which is a λόγος or plan. Such a plan is at the bottom equally of every fact in nature and of every production of art. With the aid of thought and sense the doctor comes to apprehend the health, the architect the building which he intends to create; and in this way each provides himself with a plan or ideal which is the justification or explanation of his actual procedure. Health in a particular person in the one case, a particular building in the other, is the product of the completed activity; and it is of the essence of the activity that foreknowledge of this result is present in the agent. It is this that constitutes his art: for ἡ τέχνη λόγος τοῦ ἔργου

¹ Nothing in Professor Cook Wilson's article is so surprising as the last paragraph: 'The conclusion then is that in all the passages reviewed λόγος means Reason in one of three senses; either (1) reason as the faculty of reason, or principle of reason in the soul, or (2) reason as reasoning, or (3) reason as what is reasonable, in the sense of the deliverance of reason—reason as ordaining the moral law, reason as inculcating it, or the moral law itself as a form of reason.' If by

translating 'reason' the translator commits himself to nothing more than to one of the three senses of the word there given, the word is monstrously ambiguous, and had better vanish from our philosophical vocabulary.

² τέχνη is ἡ μετὰ λόγου (or μετὰ λόγου ἀληθοῦς) ποιητικὴ ἔξις, while φρόνησις is ἡ μετὰ λόγου ἔξις πρακτικὴ or (1140 b 5) ἔξις ἀληθῆς μετὰ λόγου πρακτικῆς.

ὁ ἄνευ τῆς ὕλης ἐστίν (640 a 31). The activity is thus the materializing (if the word will pass) of a form: for that which at the beginning of the activity presents itself as an end (οὗ ἕνεκα) becomes finally the form of the matter operated upon. The same account, *mutatis mutandis*, holds good of action. Action originates (N.E. VI. 1139 a 31) in a προαίρεσις, or determination of will, which originates in a desire on the one hand and a conceived plan (λόγος ὁ ἕνεκά τινος) on the other. Προαίρεσις is not itself the οὗ ἕνεκα, but springs from the apprehension of a οὗ ἕνεκα or end. This end is the explanation of the details of the action, and the achievement embodied in the completed action. Foreknowledge of the achievement is implied in the agent. It is this, indeed, that constitutes his intellectual virtue: for ὁρθὸς λόγος περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φρόνησις ἐστίν (1144 b 27).¹ In action, as in art, the activity is the materializing of a form: the 'end' of deliberation becomes the form of the matter which the action is designed to affect. There is, it is true, a difficulty here and a failure of correspondence between τέχνη and φρόνησις: for in action the φρόνιμος is in a sense both agent and patient, he is house as well as architect. The difficulty is stated, but not solved, by Aristotle when he gives as the matter of action πάθη and πράξεις, and when he bases the distinction of ποίησις and πράξις on the fact that the former looks to a result beyond itself, the latter not. The problem raised by such statements is a profound one, not hitherto solved to general satisfaction by any philosopher; but it should not be allowed to obscure the fact that for Aristotle all distinctively human activity is one in principle. It is always the imposition of a certain preconceived form upon its appropriate matter; and his name for this form is λόγος.

When the plans are drawn, the architect's next business is to calculate and price the quantities. With a well-drawn plan for guide this process, though it may be long and laborious, is not difficult. It needs only care and accuracy, not insight. In action what corresponds is the process of βούλευσις, and the name given to the quantitative rightness achieved is μεσότης. Clearly the calculation must start from a plan and must be determined throughout by it: the μεσότης is, as Aristotle says, ὠρισμένη λόγῳ. If you ask 'What plan?' Aristotle can only answer that rightness of plan is the intellectual side of goodness, the investigation of which is to come later in the treatise: to be φρόνιμος is to be consistently right in that respect.² But without a right plan, whether

¹ This passage is cited by Professor Cook Wilson in connexion with N.E. II. 1103 b 31, which seems to him to imply that 'the ὁρθὸς λόγος meant in itself an ἀρετή.' He concludes, 'it cannot therefore be rule or definition, and must be Reason.' I cannot admit the conclusion, and I do not think the translation 'Reason' suits the passages any better than it suits the parallel passage above quoted from *De Part. An.* Art and φρόνησις are both thought of primarily as forms of knowledge, and what the agent has in mind is in each case a λόγος—what Höffding and other modern writers call 'the idea of an end.' Further, 'Reason' has never been in English

the name of a virtue. Therefore, even if the ὁρθὸς λόγος is an ἀρετή, the translation 'Reason' is not justified.

² With regard to the difference of reading ὥς and ᾧ in 1107 a 1, the latter (preferred by Bywater) is impossible for Professor Cook Wilson and other champions of *Vernunft*: both are possible for me. I cannot understand, however, much hesitation as to which is preferable. With the reading ᾧ the last clause is a direct answer to the very relevant question, 'What plan?' So Aspasius in his Commentary (ed. Heylbut, 48, 20): καὶ ἐπεξηγεῖται πολὺ λόγῳ 'τῷ τοῦ φρονιμοῦ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὁρίσειεν.'

of the agent's own construction or accepted from another, there can be no goodness at all. For the λόγος, which is from one point of view a plan, or end, or ideal, or intention, is from another the form or principle, the soul of the action; and every good act is a manifestation both of ἠθικὴ and of διανοητικὴ ἀρετή.

In conclusion I turn to Professor Cook Wilson's difficulty with the phrase ὡς ὁ λόγος τάττει and other similar phrases. It may be thought that to interpret λόγος as a form or plan is to make this difficulty more acute. My answer, summarily stated, would be—(1) that the λόγος expounded by the philosopher is both a plan, realizable as a form, of life and an injunction: so much is implied in the theory that ethical speculation is meaningless unless it has a practical use (see esp. 1103 *b* 27): (2) that the λόγος in the φρόνιμος is similarly both something apprehended by him in virtue of his φρόνησις and a command which he accepts: (3) that the law of the state (which is a λόγος) commands, exhorts, and encourages; and we do not therefore conclude that the law is either a person or a human faculty. We know that what is implied is that laws assume the imperative mood. It is the same in all three cases. In the passage already quoted from the *De Part. An.* the artistic λόγος is said not only to explain the artist's procedure but also to issue reasoned injunctions (διότι ποιητέον οὕτως). So the agent's plan comes to him as a command; and it is not very strange to regard the necessity with which it controls deliberation as speech in the imperative mood.

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ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ, XXX. 3-4.

A SIMPLE transposition in the text would, I venture to suggest, remove one or two of the many difficulties of this obscure chapter.

We are told at the end of section 2 that the Hellenotamiae who are administering the funds, although elected ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ βουλευόντων, are not to sit in the Boule: τοὺς δὲ ἑλληνοταμίας οὐκ ἂν διαχειρίζωσι τὰ χρήματα μὴ συμβουλεύειν. This statement is in itself clear and intelligible. I need not here go into the questions which have been raised as to its relation to the other clause about the Hellenotamiae farther back in the same section, and as to the language and interpretation of that clause.

Section 3 deals with the constitution of the four councils: βουλὰς δὲ ποιῆσαι τέτταρας κ.τ.λ. Each of these, in an order to be determined by lot, is to hold office in turn, and for one year: καὶ τούτων τὸ λαχὸν μέρος βουλεύειν. . . . καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύειν.¹ The intervening clauses, which provide for the distribution of the 100 commissioners and 'the others'² to the four λήξεις, do not concern us.

At the beginning of section 4 there is an obvious lacuna. The MS. text runs: εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύειν | δὲ ἢ ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς ἄριστα ἔξειν. Evidently a word has dropped out after βουλεύειν. Mr. H. Richards (v. *Class. Rev.* 1891, p. 228) has convincingly supplied the missing word, βουλεύεσθαι (cf. βουλεύσασθαι just below, and XXIX. 3, XXXI. 2), which has been accepted by Sandys and by Kenyon in his Berlin edition. The omission is satisfactorily accounted for by the similarity of the words βουλεύειν βουλεύεσθαι, aided perhaps by the position of βουλεύειν at the end of a line in the papyrus.

The first half, then, of section 4 (βουλεύεσθαι δὲ down to τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας) directs that the Council of the year are to consult as they think best for the safe custody and proper expenditure of the funds and for the discharge of their business in general to the best of their power; if they wish to consult with more persons, they are to call in each an assessor, whomsoever he will of those of the same age.

Two serious objections here present themselves. (1) The custody and administration of the funds have been already committed to responsible special boards, and can hardly be described as the main and peculiar province of the

¹ I put a colon after the former βουλεύειν and after διακληρώσαι, and take the subject of the latter βουλεύειν (if it needs any definite subject)

to be τὸ λαχὸν μέρος. K-W insert τοὺς λαχόντας.

² Probably, I think, the qualified citizens serving in the fleet abroad.

Council. We may contrast section 5, and in a broader comparison the later chapters which deal with the functions of the normal Boule. The Athenian Council's control over finance was doubtless important, but was always rather a general supervision and direction than the particular duties here so specially assigned to it. Even the financial necessities of the moment do not justify this singular prominence. On the contrary, the purpose of the exclusion of the acting Hellenotamiae from the Council, as of the institution of the *πρόβουλοι* two or three years before, was surely to rescue the finances from the less competent hands of the larger body and emancipate the expert managers from its dangerous influence. (2) The Council, if we may trust our author and our text, was to be a very large and clumsy assembly of about 1,000 members. Critics have fastened especially upon that weak point in its constitution. It is difficult to believe that this over-manned Boule should have needed, or been authorised, to double its number by calling in assessors!

But if we transpose section 3 and the first half of section 4, we at once get a natural and apposite sense. The text will then run: *τοὺς δὲ ἑλληνοταμίας οἱ ἂν διαχειρίζωσι τὰ χρήματα μὴ συμβουλεύειν· βουλευέσθαι δὲ ἥ ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς ἄριστα ἔξειν περὶ τε τῶν χρημάτων, ὅπως ἂν σῶα ἦ καὶ εἰς τὸ δέον ἀναλίσκηται, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥς ἂν δύνωνται ἄριστα· κἄν τι θέλωσιν βουλεύσασθαι μετὰ πλείονων ἐπεισκαλεῖν ἕκαστον ἐπίσκλητον ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας. βουλὰς δὲ ποιῆσαι τέτταρας κ.τ.λ.*

The duties here assigned to the Hellenotamiae are proper to them. The *περὶ τῶν ἄλλων* need not cause any misgivings, for (1) the Hellenotamiae had always something more to do than guard and pay out money, e.g. the collection of the tribute; (2) their amalgamation with the other treasurers of State funds, especially the Colacretae, enlarged their functions, as inscriptions of the years 410 to 404 testify; (3) it is a practice frequent in all legal documents to add an 'et cetera' to cover possible omissions. Compare, in the first section of the next chapter, *περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν ἥ ἂν ἡγῶνται συμφέρειν*.

The *ἐπίσκλητοι* to assist the Hellenotamiae would, of course, be the *πάρεδροι* of the inscriptions. Nothing is known of the mode of their appointment. Probably co-optation was the established practice, as with the *πάρεδροι* of the three chief Archons (LVI. 1).

The connection with the context at the end of the transposed passages is as smooth as at the beginning: *καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύειν. τὰς δ' ἔδρας ποιεῖν τῆς βουλῆς κατὰ πενθήμερον κ.τ.λ.* From the constitution of the Council and its tenure we pass to its meetings, procedure, and business.

The dislocation is easily explained by the homoeoteleuton and homoeo-archon of the sentences, *συμβουλεύειν* and *βουλεύειν*, *βουλευέσθαι* and *βουλὰς δέ*. The two passages are of approximately equal length. It occurred to me that their metathesis might date from an original faulty copy of an inscription, and I have tried the experiment of putting them into epigraphic script of the period arranged *στοιχηδόν* in such a way that those two pairs of words stand at

the ends and the beginnings of lines respectively. But I cannot without recourse to Procrustean methods get them both quite to fit the spaces. We may, however, well believe that at some stage in the literary transmission of our text the cardinal words did so fall, and that an easy slip of the next copyist's eye transposed them. It is worth noting that the first scribe of the London papyrus seems to have found some temptation to displace the words *βουλὰς δὲ ποιῆσαι τέτταρας*, for he inserted them again in section 5 after *ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς*—(once more a word in *βουλ.*!)—but corrected himself 'inter scribendum' (K.).

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NOTE ON THUCYDIDES II. c. 48, § 3.

ἐγὼ δὲ οἶόν τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.

May a reader of Mr. Herbert Richards' *Thucydidea* briefly defend the manuscript reading in this familiar passage? In the October issue of the *Classical Quarterly* (vii. 245) Mr. Richards suggests καὶ πολλοὺς ἰδὼν, in place of καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν. He says, 'The second αὐτός is very pointless, and a πολλούς seems wanted. We do not need to be told that he saw them himself, and hardly that he did see them; that he saw many is worth mentioning. Cf. Herod. I. 197 ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα.' Would it not be truer to say that the words as they stand are full of point and of Thucydidean point?

Thucydides seldom refers to himself, but here he is frankly egotistic when historical truth demands it: ἐγὼ . . . αὐτός . . . αὐτός. He stresses, by repetition, his personal experience and his personal observation: he had himself fallen ill and himself seen the sufferings of others. His delight in the first-hand evidence he can offer as a surviving victim and as an eye-witness is no less keen here than in I. c. 22, § 1 (ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα, with context), and in I. c. 22, §§ 2, 3 (οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρήν, with context). He brushes aside such speculations as the plague must have aroused long after it was over among thinking men, whether doctors or not, who knew of it only by hearsay. He has experiences and observations of his own to record for posterity: he is no mere reporter of what others told him they had felt or told him they had seen: he can show that he is imbued, in some degree, with the scientific spirit of his contemporary Hippocrates.

The chapter of Herodotus (I. 197) from which Mr. Richards quotes a few words seems to confirm the traditional text of Thucydides, who may well have had these travellers' tales in mind. In particular, a remembrance of the preceding clause εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχη ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα may have led him deliberately to write αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας [Mr. Richards gives νοσοῦντας against the manuscripts, probably by a slip of the pen]: 'I, the selfsame person, was not only myself stricken but myself saw others suffering.' 'Others,' be it noted, not 'another,' as Herodotus has it; and this modest plural (ἄλλους) is surely expressive enough without any addition whatsoever.

From the critical notes in Hude's text of Thucydides I see that Cobet would strike out the second αὐτός. For my own part (and I only wish I could carry with me so devoted a student of classical literature as Mr. Richards), I should be no less reluctant to omit the second αὐτός here than to omit the second or the third or the fourth αὐτός in the fragment of Aeschylus which Plato quotes at the end of the second book of the *Republic*.

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NOTES ON DARES AND DICTYS.

DARES.

C. i., p. 2, 12 (Meister's paging) dicit Peliae regi se eo uelle ire si uires sociique non deessent. Pelias . . . Argum . . . iussit . . . nauim aedificaret.

Considering the next sentence read perhaps *na ues* for *uires*.

C. ii., p. 3, 25. Graeci aduentare nauibus. mittit ad portam.

M reads *nauibus uti*. May this conceal *e t i t a*? cf. p. 11, 2. For change of tense cf. opening lines of C. iii.

C. iii., p. 5, 12. <quod ubi> Laomedonti regi nuntiatum est classem accessere et.

quod ubi, on the analogy I suppose of C. iv., p. 5, 24, is added by Meister against the grammar of the sentence. It must be deleted; cf. C. ii., p. 3, 20 with C. iii., p. 5, 13.

C. iv., p. 5, 24. Priamo nuntiatum est . . . praedam euectam.

euectam MG, *deuectam* Meister. Surely *auectam* is the word required. The MSS. reading arose from *praedāuectam*.

C. viii., p. 10, 7. Antenorem a Graeis contumeliose tractatum neque ab eis quicquam impetrasse.

There are four other passages similar—C. v., p. 7, 24; C. vi., p. 8, 11; C. xvii., p. 22, 7; C. xxxviii., p. 46, 6. Meister has thought it necessary to bring all these into harmony by making Antenor the subject. I can scarcely believe it necessary to ensure such harmony, but if it is it seems worthy of note that the passage quoted is the only one in which it is not Priam but Antenor who is contumeliously treated. Instead of Meister's changes then in C. v. and C. vi., I would here transpose *Antenorem* to after *neque*, and suppose *se* has dropped out after *contumeliose* as it has done in C. vi. in all the MSS. except F.

C. viii., p. 10, 18. dicere coepit Troianis extremum exitium futurum sed pulchrum in otio uitam degere.

There is no antithesis but a preference: read *e t*.

C. xi., p. 14, 5. postea dictum est eos immortales factos, itaque Lesbios . . . quaesitum isse.

The Lesbians did not go to seek Castor and Pollux because they were afterwards thought immortal: read *itemque*.

C. xviii., p. 23, 3. de Aethiopia Perses et Memnon.

et must be deleted, There was no Perses at Troy, while in C. xl. Memnon is *Persarum rector*; cf. also Strab. p. 728, Diod. ii. 22, iv. 75.

C. xx., p. 25, 26. Hector Boetem Arcesilaum Prothoenorem occidit.

There is no Boetes at Troy. Read *Boeotos*: there is a somewhat similar corruption in *Il. Lat.* 169; cf. also Dictys iii. 10.

C. xxi., p. 26, 19. Hector . . . Schedium †cleo liel phenorem occidit.

Corrected to *Schedium Elephenorem*. Perhaps *cleo* conceals *Clonium*. Cf. *Il. Lat.* 168; Dictys i. 13, 17.

C. xxi., p. 26, 23. Agamemnon . . . pugnam reuocauit. laeti Troiani in castra reuertuntur.

Transpose *in castra* to before the full stop. The Trojans always retreat *in oppidum, in urbem*, never *in castra*.

C. xxvi., p. 32, 1. succedit Pheres Admeti filius.

The only son of Admetus at Troy is Eumelus. *Pheres* is probably a marginal note *Pheris*, and has ousted Eumelus from the text, or the original may have read *Eumelus Pheris A. filius*. The name *Eumelus* must in any case, I think, be brought into the text.

C. xxvi., p. 32, 18. interea (i.e., during the truce) naues onerandas curat Palamedes.

o r n a n d a s is surely necessary. Why should he *load* the ships and with what?

C. xxvii., p. 33, 15. Agamemnon cum magno comitatu ad castra reuertitur.

There is no question of an imposing retinue. He has been deliberately insulted by being sent on the servile mission of helping other people to get provisions. Read *commeatu* and cf. Caes. *B.G.* i. 34.

C. xxviii., p. 34, 19. cui exultanti et glorianti Alexander Paris collum transfigit.

In both Dictys and Dares Paris is never called anything but Alexander: delete *Paris* here as a gloss.

C. xxxvi., p. 44, 3. Menelaus ad Scyrum uenit arma Achillis Neoptolemo filio eius tradit quae cum sumpsisset, Argiuorum castris . . . lamentatus est.

1. *Lycomedem* has probably dropped out before *Scyrum*, cf. C. xxxv.

2. Something has gone before *Argiuorum*. Meister supplies *uenit et in*. It is surely simpler to delete *Neoptolemo* and read *sumpsisset*. *Neoptolemus in*. *Neoptolemus* got into the line above by attraction to *filio* and became dative. Meister's *uenit* would still have *Menelaus* for subject.

C. xxxvii., p. 44, 21. ut consilium cogat.

Meister changes to *conuocet*, but cf. C. xxxi., p. 37, 14.

C. xli., p. 49, 9. ut hi suos omnibus . . . adducant.

Meister's *uti* is a needless refinement. Dares uses *hi* constantly; cf. p. 8, 8.

C. xli., p. 49, 20. Hecuba dum fugit cum Polyxena Aeneam incurrit. Polyxenam tradit ei.

So G. L reads *tradidisset* whence Meister's *tradit se*. It is surely easier to read *Polyxenam* with G. and understand *Hecuba* as subject of *tradit*. Polyxena has no mind of her own in any case though she has in Dictys. *Aeneas occurrit* L, but G.'s is the more vivid phrase. If *occurrit* is retained read *Aeneae*.

C. xlii., p. 51, 8. Agamemnonem poscit conqueritur exercitum accusat, Antenorem accersiri iubet.

Neoptolemus is the subject of *poscit*, but it is not his place to give orders and later it is Agamemnon who manages the whole business. Can *Agamemnon* have dropped out before *Antenorem*?

DICTYS.

I., c. ii, p. 4, 9. Atrei gratia etsi ea quae exhibebantur cum laetitia accipiebant tamen . . . templi pulcritudine afficiebantur.

For *Atrei gratia* Obrecht followed by Meister reads *reges Graeciae*, a phrase that is entirely unlike Dictys and has no point here at all. Could we read a *rerum gratia*?

I., c. viii., p. 7, 19. reguli . . . concilium irrumpunt atque inconditis moribus malum minitantur.

moribus seems to have incurred the censure of all the critics, though Meister retains it; perhaps we might read *motibus* = 'gestures', used of the gesticulation of an orator in Cic. *Brut.* 116.

I., c. xxiii., p. 17, 31. cum opportunum iam tempus nauigandi ingrueret. *ingrueret* can scarcely be right. I should prefer *urgueret*, cf. V., c. xvi., p. 100, 22 *urgente nauigii tempore*.

II., c. xxviii., p. 36, 15. Chryses praeferiens dei uultus. *uultus* can hardly be right. Even if intelligible the phrase is too bold for Dictys, and Chryses had none of the majesty of Apollo. I think we must read *uittas*, cf. *Il. Lat.* 13, and Verg. *Aen.* vii. 237.

II., c. xlii., p. 45, 17. interea Ajax adueniens cognito apud naues Hectore . . . apparuit.

Meister apparently takes *Hectore* with *cognito*. But *cognito, etc.*, is an absolute phrase = *cognito quod apud naues ageretur*. The clause appears often—e.g. p. 49, 18, but the sense is clear without it. I would read *Hectori* dat. after *apparuit*.

III., c. iii., p. 53, 33. scilicet quia fluxa fides et animi earum spectati. ? *nec* for *et*; but perhaps the MSS. reading originally was *earûs spectati* and *su-* dropped out before *spectati* (cf. p. 55, 12, *tendiet* for *tendi uidet*), and we should read *su spectati*.

III., c. xxiii., p. 59, 26. instantes tela iaciunt crebra magis quam cum effectū.

crebre is surely required to balance *cum effectū*, cf. in u. 25 *temere et cum audacia*.

III., c. xxiii., p. 66, 13. non enim Helenae . . . gratia exercitum . . . procul ab domo . . . militiam tolerare.

surely *ab* <ducere> *domo*.

V., c. vii., p. 92, 18. auspicio tali monitis omnium animis Calchas . . . hortatur, 'and explains.'

They were neither warned nor instructed till Calchas told them, but they were astounded like the enemy in u. 8. Read *attonitis*.

V., c. xvi., p. 100, 10. ceterum post abscessum Ulixi Hecuba . . . multa ingerere maledicta imprecarique infesta omina in exercitum.

Surely *Ulixis*. There is no sense in Hecuba heaping insults on a man who is not there, and it will not fulfil her plan of enraging the army since Ulixes has fled its hate.

VI., c. ii., p. 103, 15. Menestheus cum Aethra Thesei et Clymena filia eius . . . recipitur.

Meister's index reads *Aethra* (?) *filia Thesei*. But *mater* must have dropped out before *et* if only to balance *filia eius*. There is no tradition I know of making Aethra Theseus' daughter. This has surely been pointed out before, but I risk doing so here.

R. T. CLARK.

MÜNICH.

ON SOME PASSAGES OF OVID'S *TRISTIA*.

SINCE the publication of my critical edition in 1889 the *Tristia* of Ovid has received some attention. A paper in *Hermathena*, vol. vii. (1890) by Professor R. Ellis contains several conjectural emendations, and in a public lecture on *The Second Book of Ovid's 'Tristia'* (Clarendon Press, 1913), this veteran scholar analysed the intricate contents of Book II. Two learned pamphlets by Dr. R. Ehwald, *Ad historiam carminum Ovidianorum recensioneque symbolae* (I. Gotha, 1889; II. Gotha, 1892) deal with the history of the text, and the textual criticism and interpretation generally. Dr. Paul Vogel's *Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Ovid 'Tristien'* (*Festschrift*, Schneeberg [Sachsen] 1891) is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the text and its interpretation. I have made much use of these works in writing this paper. Though little has emerged in the way of new manuscript material, the important discovery has been made by Dr. Ehwald of the fragments of a tenth century manuscript in the town library of Trier. These fragments are our earliest authority, since the best manuscript L, the Marcianus, belongs to the eleventh century. These leaves which have been recovered formed the binding of a book. They contain, unfortunately, only I. xi. 1-31; I. xi. 33-II. 21; IV. iv. 35-65; IV. iv. 67-v. 9; their readings closely agree with our best manuscript L. The fragments are fully described by Dr. Ehwald, *Symbolae*, II., pp. 4 sqq.

I. i. 47, 48.

da mihi Maeoniden et tot circumspice casus:
ingenium tantis excidet omne malis.

Here the word *circumspice*, if taken in its literal sense, is obscure. 'Give me a Homer,' says Ovid, 'and look around upon my many misfortunes; his talent will be entirely destroyed by such great troubles.' One would naturally expect Ovid to say 'Give me a Homer and surround him with as many misfortunes as are mine,' and that is what Heinsius made him say by his conjecture *circumice*, which is accepted by some editors, and apparently by Professor Housman, *Manilius* I. p. lii. But *circumice* is unsatisfactory, since the verb, as far as I know, is nowhere used in Roman poetry. No alteration is necessary, for the meaning which *circumice* is intended to convey is actually the meaning of *circumspice*, which signifies 'provide for him.' *Circumspicere* means 'to look around for, look for,' and so 'provide,' as in the following passages: Verg. *Georg.* iii. 390, 'plenoque alium circumspice campo'; Livy i. 30 'Sabini

circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia'; Juvenal viii. 95 'praeconem Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis'; Seneca *Dial.* i. 3. 3 'alius circumspiciatur cum quo conferre possimus manum.'

II. 77-80.

a! ferus et nobis crudelior omnibus hostis,
delicias legit qui tibi cumque meas,
carmina ne nostris quae te uenerantia libris
iudicio possint candidiore legi.

I wish to modify the explanation given of this passage in my critical edition, p. xcv. It is difficult to decide between *indicio* LHPV and *iudicio* G. I now think that *iudicio* is right; the meaning is:—'Alas! he was a heartless enemy and more cruel than all to me whoever he be that read to you my trifles with the intent that no portions of my books extolling you may be read with more friendly judgement on your part.' In my edition I accepted *indicio* which has greater MS. evidence. But the meaning obtained is unsatisfactory. Vogel has pointed out that a special *indicium* would not be necessary for an unprejudiced reading of Ovid's poems. Besides this, I object (i.) that one would expect *indice* not *indicio*, which cannot be equivalent to *indice*; (ii.) though *indicio candidiore* might be construed 'in consequence of more favourable information about my poems,' taking *indicio* in a colourless sense, which is slightly supported by *Pont.* I. v. 76 where 'indicium studii mei' means information about my poetry, and by *Trist.* II. 379 where 'indicio Homeri' means 'through information given by Homer,' the word *indicium* almost invariably has a bad connotation, standing for information or revelation of an unfavourable character, as *Trist.* III. 4, 71 'nec meus indicio latitantes uersus amicos | protrahit.' Thus to talk of a *candidius indicium* seems strange if not impossible.

Vogel proposes to read 'ne e nostris,' not only for the sake of greater clearness, but because two of my MSS., a Bodleian and a Copenhagen MS., have an erasure of one letter after *ne*. But as I stated in my apparatus the erased letter was *c*; confusions between *ne* and *nec* are frequent. As to the construction, I regard *nostris libris* as a poetical local ablative, like II. 437 'quorum libris modo dissimulata Perilla est' [*Perilla est* is my correction for *per illos* MSS.], which means 'those in whose books Perilla was lately a counterfeited name.' So *Ibis* 639; 'haec tibi tantisper subito sint missa libello.'

II. 83-86.

cum coepit quassata domus subsidere, partes
in proclinas omne recumbit onus,
cunctaque fortuna rimam faciente dehiscunt
ipsa suoque eadem pondere tracta ruunt.

This, I now think, is the true reading of these disputed lines. In line 86 I have ventured to conjecture *suoque eadem* for *suo quodam* of the MSS. The

meaning is: 'When a tottering house begins to tumble, its whole weight subsides towards the leaning portions; and when chance causes a rift, all its structures crack; and moreover, dragged down by their own weight, collapse.'

II. ii. 89-92.

at, memini, uitamque meam moresque probabas
 illo, quem dederas, praetereuntis equo:
 quod si non prodest et honesti gloria nulla
 redditur, at nullum crimen adeptus eram.

The last couplet, pronounced 'semibarbarus' by Heinsius, and rejected by many editors, appears corruptly in L.

Non quasi prodesset honesti gloria nulla

Redditus est (redditur et *m.* 3) nullum crimen adeptus erit (eram *m.* 3).

Ehwald *Symb.* II. 19 thinks it clear from the form in which it is given in L that the couplet is an interpolation of someone expressing his own view of the muster held by Augustus. But, as Vogel points out, the poet's purpose is to bring into prominence the *recognitio equitum*, as being a formal decision given by Augustus which was creditable to Ovid himself. The expression *crimen adipisci* is unusual, but though *adipisci* generally denotes to secure something good, it may be used of securing something bad, as in Tac. *Ann.* I. 74 'odium apud omnes adeptus.' I am inclined to think that my conjecture 'et honos et gloria' may be right; but *honestus* in the sense of 'having held *honores* (offices)' is Ciceronian. See *pro Mur.* § 87. The couplet would appear to be sound and to mean: 'And if the fact that I passed muster before you brings me no advantage, and no repute for distinction is accorded to me, yet it must be admitted that I had incurred no charge.'

II. ii. 109-114.

illa nostra die, qua me malus abstulit error,
 parua quidem periit, sed sine labe domus:
 sic quoque parua tamen, patrio dicatur ut aevo
 clara nec ullius nobilitate minor,
 et neque diuitiis nec paupertate notanda,
 unde sit in neutrum conspiciendus eques.
 sit quoque nostra domus uel censu parua uel ortu,
 ingenio certe non latet illa meo.

The order of these lines given in the MSS. I now think correct. In line 113 *et neque*, GPV and most MSS., must be accepted rather than *ut neque* LH, and in line 115 *sit* the reading of most MSS. is superior to *si* LV, with which the omission of the verb is awkward. The meaning is: 'On that day on which a fatal mistake led me astray, a family was ruined which was stain-

less even if insignificant, though it is insignificant also with the reserve that it is described as distinguished in the time of our fathers, and as not inferior to the lineage of any, and as not remarkable either for riches or poverty, so that (*unde* = *ut inde ortus eques*) a knight sprung from it is noteworthy in neither of these respects. Also, even if my family is insignificant in property or extraction, my talent at least saves it from obscurity,' that is, my talent cannot be blamed for its remaining unknown.

II. 191-192.

Ciziges et cholchi metereaque turba ietaeque
Danubii mediis uix prohibetur aquis.

So L. The difficulties of this couplet are no reason why it should be rejected. It is obviously designed to emphasize the remoteness of Tomi, which is too vaguely indicated by the expression *egressus Histri* (189); and it is designed to move the reader's horror by the thought that the broad Danube scarcely protects the frontier post, the unhappy poet's residence, from the incursions of wild migratory tribes who lived in the savage regions beyond it extending even beyond the Maeotis. As to the first of those tribes *Īazyges*, the reading of most MSS. will not do, both on account of the impossible synzesis involved (the word is always scanned elsewhere *Īāzȳgēs*; *Ibis* 133; *Pont.* I. 2. 79; IV. 7. 9), and because this Sarmatian tribe lived on the lower Danube, too far west to be associated with the tribes mentioned close to it. The tribe is the *Ciziges*, whose name is correctly preserved by L. This Sarmatian tribe lived just beyond the Tanais on the Asiatic side of the Maeotis. It is hard to avoid supposing that they are identical with the *Cizici* of Pliny (*N.H.* VI. 19); Mayhoff gives this apparatus—*Cizici* DED *zizici* a *czici* R¹—with other variants. Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, whom I have consulted, remarks that the variation of terminations signifies little in a barbarous name. In that case the second tribe would seem to be the Colchi, who are a little further to the south. As to the enigmatical *Meterea* which contains the name of the third tribe, Ellis's conjecture *Teretæa* (*Hermathena* VII. 193) comes near enough to the MSS. and fits in well with the other tribes. The *Teretae* or *Toretæ* were a tribe who lived a little east of the Maeotis, north of the Colchi. The fourth tribe are the *Getae*, as given by most MSS. With this tribe Ovid moves nearer home, for they lived north of the Danube. *Prohibentur* should of course be read with most MSS.

II. 253-254.

at matrona potest alienis artibus uti,
quoque trahat, quamuis non doceatur, habet.

So L and most MSS. The meaning is 'But it may be objected that the married woman can make use of artifices intended for others, and she finds in your poems the means by which she can attract, though the lessons are not addressed to her.' I am glad that Vogel supports me in this view. Many editors read *quodque* with the Gothanus and some inferior MSS., and this

reading is defended by Ehwald, *Symb.* II. p. 19. *Trahat* is then taken in the medical sense of 'contract by infection'—'she finds in your poems some corruption that she can contract.' This is less simple than the explanation which I have given, and having indifferent MS. support has little to recommend it. Though the medical sense of *trahere* is paralleled by *Pont.* III. 2. 14 'uicinum metuens ne trahat inde malum,' the sense 'to attract' is equally well supported by *A. A.* III. 421 'se quoque det populo mulier speciosa uidendam: | quem trahat, e multis forsitan unus erit.'

II. ii. 277-278.

'at quasdam uitio.' quicumque hoc concipit, errat,
et nimium scriptis arrogat ille meis.

So L, which here shows its excellence. Other MSS. have 'quasdam uitiat, quaedam uitia,' and so forth. The meaning is 'But, say my critics, some women have turned your *Ars* to a corrupt use'—'quasdam uitio uertisse meos libros arguunt obtrectatores.' Ehwald makes it probable that the reference in *quasdam* is to both the elder and younger Julia (*Symb.* II. 20). Conjectures such as that of Vogel 'atque metum uitii' are superfluous.

II. ii. 279-282.

ut tamen hoc fatear, ludi quoque semina praebent
nequitiae: tolli tota theatra iube:
peccandi causam multis quam saepe dederunt,
Martia cum durum sternit harena solum.

The meaning is 'But even if I admit the charge just made, the pageants also provide incentives to immorality, so order wholesale suppression of the theatres: how often have the pageants afforded to many an occasion of sinning, when the sand is strown on the hard ground in the amphitheatre of Mars.' The *ludi* were a combination of theatrical, gladiatorial, and other performances. It was at the *ludi* that comedies, and especially, under the Empire, the indelicate mimes were presented. The *ludi* were a time of public merry-making, and led to looseness especially through two means which Ovid mentions: (1) the theatres; (2) the gladiatorial and other shows, which brought the sexes together as spectators. It is thus clear that *ludi* is the subject both of *praebent* (279) and *dederunt* (281): there is therefore no reason for Ehwald's conjecture *mimi* for *multis*, which involves the further alteration of *cum* to *cur*: nor is *munera* for *mimi* required, proposed by Vogel as it had been proposed by Heinsius before him.

II. ii. 409-410.

est et in obscenos commixta tragoedia risus,
multaque praeteriti uerba pudoris habet.

Here *commixta* is due to GHP. *Commista* is found in V, and the third hand of L., the original reading of which is erased, but was probably *commixta*.

The other MSS. have *deflexa*, accepted by most editors, in supposed allusion to the Satyric drama in which 'tragedy was diverted to obscene jokes.' But *commixta*, which I restored to the text, gives a better sense, and is approved by Vogel and Ehwald (*Jahresbericht*, 1902, p. 283), who compares Plaut. *Amph.* 59 'faciam ut commixta sit (haec) tragicomoedia.' The meaning is: 'tragedy has been made composite in character (has not been kept pure) in order to provoke indecent laughter.' The reference is probably to the *ἰλαροτραγωδίαι* of Rhinthon, which were burlesques of tragic themes. On this obscure writer some light has lately been thrown by Lejay in his edition of Horace's *Satires*, p. xlii., and Michaut, *Sur les Tréteaux latins*, p. 128.

III. 1. 47.

causa superpositae scripto est testata coronae :
servatos ciuis indicat huius ope.

Thus the couplet is given in Lord Leicester's MS. (H); the other MSS. omit *est*, which was added conjecturally by Ehwald after *coronae*. It has been proved from inscriptions that the legend OB. CIVIS. SERVATOS was placed on the 'querna corona' itself (Ehwald, *Jahresb.* 1893, p. 100; *B.P.W.* 1890, p. 1624): the meaning is 'the reason for the crown fixed above the door is attested by the legend on it.'

III. 3. 21.

si iam deficiam subpressaue lingua palato,

So the MSS. The conjecture of Heinsius *deficiat* is usually accepted. But no alteration is required; *deficiat* must be understood with *lingua* from *deficiam*. Iuu. xiii. 141 'quia tu (es) gallinae filius albae nos (sumus) uiles pulli.' See below on III. 12. 1.

III. 7. 27-28.

forsitan exemplo, quia me laesere libelli,
tu quoque sis poenae facta secuta meae.

Ovid is addressing the young poetess Perilla, who he fears has abandoned poetry through terror at the disaster it has brought upon himself. Various conjectures have been made with a view to maintaining *facta*—*retusa* by Ellis (*Hermathena* vii. 211) and Zingerle (*N. Phil. Rundschau*, 1890, p. 70) independently, but this un-Ovidian word seems out of place; *quieta* by Vogel, which is tame; *soluta* (slack) by myself, to which Vogel objects that *solutus* means 'set free from pressure or coercion.' It does often, but Cic. *Rull.* II. 91 'urbem ipsam solutam ac debilitatam' supports my meaning. Other conjectures in my edition. But I am now inclined to think that *secuta* is right and *facta* wrong, and to accept *fata* from the early printed editions, apparently an

Italian conjecture. The meaning is: 'perhaps in consequence of the lesson of my punishment, because my writings have been my ruin, you have submitted yourself to destiny'; you have resolved to write no more since *fatum* seems to bring ruin on authors of poetry. Verg. *Aen.* I. 382 'data fata secutus.'

III. 10. 11-12.

dum †patet et boreas et nix habitare sub arcto,
tum patet has gentes axe tremente premi.

The *patet* of line 11 is clearly a corruption due to *patet* in line 12. Various alterations have been proposed. I now suggest 'dum prohibet Boreas,' etc. For *prohibere* followed by infinitive see *Pont.* I. 5. 51 'hoc quoque me studium prohibent adsumere uires.' *Prohibet* contracted may have easily become *patet* on account of the succeeding *patet*, and *et* following it is due to (metrical?) dittography. The same idea is repeated in *Pont.* I. 3. 35; 'quocumque aspicias campi cultore carentes, uastaque, quae nemo uindicat, arua iacent.' The rather rare use of *patet* impersonally in line 12 is supported by Her. 16. 32 'iuuenem facti paenituisse patet.'

III. 12. 1-2.

frigora iam Zephyri minuunt, annoque peracto
longior antiquis uisa Maeotis hiems.

So the MSS. Editors regard *Maeotis* as corrupt, on account of the shortening of the diphthong; thus Lachmann altered it to *Tomitis*, and Vogel, supposing it to conceal the finite verb, reads 'uim moderatur hiems.' These are counsels of despair. I now think that Ovid wrote *Maeotis* and scanned it *Maëōtis* as a metrical experiment, imitating the shortening of diphthongs found sometimes in Greek poets. That by the law of Latin Phonetics such shortening is permissible is shown by the prosody of Plautus, where we find Pellaeus as a dactyl in *Asin.* 333 (Lindsay, *Captivi* [1890], Introd., p. 19), by the scan-sions 'praëacutus,' 'praëeunte,' 'praëustus' (L. Müller, *De re Metr.* ed. 2, pp. 287 sqq.), and by the form 'prehendo,' which we print although MSS. show 'prae-hendo.'

I believe that Ovid shortened 'Maëōtis' in imitation of Euripides *Herc.* 409 *Μαιῶτιν ἀμφί*, which words in the strophe correspond to *διήλθε τόν τε* in the antistrophe. The choric ode in which this occurs, *Herc.* 348-450, appears to be written in exact syllabic correspondence. Besides line 400, *Μαιῶτιν*, there are only two other uncertain places, line 374 *ἱππεύαις ἐδάμαζον* in the antistrophe corresponding to *τοῖς θᾶνούσιν ἄγαλμα* in the strophe; and line 350 *τὰν καλλίφθιτον* (MSS.) *κιθάραν* in the strophe corresponding to *ἔστρωσεν τόξοις φονίους* in the antistrophe. As to *ἱππεύαις* I believe that here again the diphthong is scanned short, as I have marked it, on the same principle, which removes the anomaly. As to the second case, Professor Gilbert Murray in his

edition follows Verrall in reading τὸν κάλλει φθιτόν, which violates the syllabic correspondence. The MSS. are corrupt; but if the emendation of Stephanus τάν καλλιφθογγὸν be accepted, the syllabic correspondence is re-established. It seems hardly possible to resist the conclusion that Stephanus was right. There is a similar shortening of Νυσαίων in Soph. *Antig.* 1131.

It is a fact beyond question that Greek poets did shorten diphthongs when standing before a vowel in certain cases, particularly where the words are adjectives. Thus we find ἔμπαῖον (*Od.* XX. 379), χαμαῖεννάδες (*Od.* X. 243), οἶος (*Il.* XIII. 275), υἱός (*Il.* IV. 473), and in tragedy παλαιός (*Soph. fr.* 655; *Eur. El.* 497), γεραίός (*Eur. Hec.* 64; *Herc.* 446, 901) πετραῖα (*Soph. Ant.* 827), δείλαιος (*Antig.* 1310). In Soph. *O.C.* 200 and 238 γεράον stands in Jebb's text; it is so found in the MSS. in 238, in 200 it is Dindorf's correction for the γεραιόν of the MSS. This is interesting because it indicates that there was a tendency to slur over in pronunciation a diphthong followed by a vowel, a weakening of quantity due to conversational pronunciation. The same is indicated by the spellings παλαός, παλεός, for παλαιός, and the forms τέλειος, τέλεος, αἰεί, αεί. Professor Gilbert Murray, who has given me his opinion on this point, says, 'personally I don't think there is any valid objection to Μαῖῳτις from the Greek side. . . . The syllable *αι* was evidently in practical speech apt to be short: the spellings παλεός, etc., occur very early; again, -μαι -ται in verbs is elided in Epic,¹ and in Menander, *Epitrepontes*, 138, 140, 226, and (*me iudice*) in the *Irh. Aut.* 407 βούλομ' ἀλλά. So καί is elided (without crasis) in ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων and other cases.' In *Eur. Hipp.* 1128 ὦ δρυμὸς ὄρεϊος, ὄθι κυνῶν, Professor Murray keeps the text scanned thus, with the approval, he tells me, of Wilamowitz, who formerly suggested ὄρῃος on the analogy of τέλεος. This practically means that the spelling was indifferent, or rather that the forms τέλεος παλεός, etc., were invented to suit the pronunciation, perhaps by the learned. I think this is the truth; and in the above passages of Sophocles Jebb would have done well to read γεραιόν in both lines. Such weakening of quantity is found with long vowels as well as diphthongs. Thus we find βέβληαι (*Il.* XI. 380), Πῖσα (*Pind. Ol.* II. 3, *Bacchyl.* V. 182), and Νηρείς beside Νηρηίς. More difficult is the case of πατρῷος found in *Pind. Nem.* IX. 14, and in *Eur. Alc.* 249, *Tro.* 162, *Med.* 431; in Euripides Professor Murray restores πάτριος. But it seems likely that here also the MSS. are correct, and present a further instance of weakening of quantity. At any rate ἥρῳος (*Od.* VI. 303), κολῳεῖ *Antimach. fr.* 37 Kink., are undisputed. Cicero's remarks on shortening in hiatus, which he regarded as archaic, are interesting in this connexion (*Orat.* 152). The weakening of ω is illustrated by the shortened forms Brittōnes Vascōnes (*Juv.* XV. 124 and 93) beside Βρίττωνες (*Procop.*) Οὐάσκωνες (*Strabo*).

In further illustration of this paradox that apparent false quantities are to be encountered in the best classical poets I take this opportunity of defending

¹ And Aristophanes. See Kühner-Blass, *Gk. Gr.*, I, 237.

the following readings retained in my text of Juvenal, VI. 167 *Venusinam*, VII. 15 *equitesque Bithyni*, VII. 204 *Thrasymachi*, XIV. 9 *ficedulas*.

Quantities, especially of proper names, were often unmanageable in verse. Greek authors complain of this: Thus Critias *P.L.G.*, ed. 4, p. 282: οὐ γάρ πως ἦν τοῦνομ' ἐφαρμόζειν ἐλεγείῳ; Archestratus 39: ἰχθύος αὐξηθέντος ὃν ἐν μέτρῳ οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν. So Lucilius 228, Marx: 'seruorum est festus dies hic, quem plane hexametro uersu non dicere possis.' There are similar complaints in Horace (*Sat.* I. 5. 87), Ovid (*Pont.* IV. 12 on Tūtīcānus), Martial (IX. 11 on Ēārīnus), Pliny (*Ep̄p.* VIII. 4. 3 on Dacian proper names), Apollinaris Sidonius (*Carm.* 22. 485). Therefore Greek poets allowed themselves some latitude and tended to lengthen the first in a sequence of short syllables. Homer has Πρίαμος but Πρίαμίδης, Ἀπόλλων but Ἀπόλλωνος (so Ap. Rhod. I. 403, Callim. *Hymn Ap.* 17), Callimachus (*Hymn Del.* 326) has Ἀπόλλων. The Romans followed them. Virgil has 'Priāmus' but 'Priāmides,' 'Sīculus' but 'Sīcelides,' 'Ītalia' but 'Ītalus,' 'Dīana' (*Aen.* I. 499, cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV. 7. 25, Ov. *M.* VIII. 353), but 'Dīana' (*Aen.* VII. 306, cf. Ov. *M.* VIII. 385, Grattius, 253). A violent instance of variation is Hor. *Carm.* III. 4. 9 'me fabulosae Vulture in Āpulo nutricis extra limen Āpulīae,' where no change should be made in the text. Ovid has 'Īo' (*Aen.* I. 3. 21), but 'Īo' (*Her.* 14. 103, *Ibis* 624). Virgil has 'Sithōnius' (*Ec.* 10. 66) with Lycophron 1357, though the *o* is long in Herodotus. Virgil has 'Fīdenae' (*Aen.* VI. 773), but Horace (*Ep̄.* I. 11. 6) and Propertius (IV. 1. 36) 'Fīdenae.' 'Sidōnius' is usual though the stem of 'Sidon' is long (Hor. *Ep̄.* I. 10. 26). Juvenal has 'Scantīnius' (II. 44), but Ausonius (*Epigr.* 92. 4, Peiper) 'Scantīnius.' 'Grādius' is found forty-nine times against 'Grādius' four times (M. Warren, *Am. Journ. Phil.* IV. No. 13). Catullus (29. 3) has 'Māmurra,' but Horace (*Sat.* I. 5. 37) and other poets 'Māmurra.' Propertius (I. 19. 7) and Ovid (*A. A.* II. 356) have 'Phŷlacides,' but Ovid (*T.* V. 14. 39) 'Phŷlaceius.' Propertius (III. 1. 29), Ovid (*Her.* 5. 94, *M.* XII. 547), and Persius (1. 4) have 'Pōlydamas.' The Greek is Πολυδάμας, but it is wrong with some editors to read in these passages 'Pulydamas' (Πουλυδάμας), since the long *o* probably came from a Doric or Aeolic form Πωλυδάμας, as in the case of 'pōlypus' (Hor. *Sat.* I. 3. 40), where the dialectic form was introduced through the κοινὴ λέξις. 'Batāuus' and 'Batāuus' are both found (Mart. VI. 82. 6 Friedländer); Statius has 'Nerēis' but 'Nerēida' (*Achill.* I. 24. 158); 'Pālatinus' is the adjective from 'Pālatia' (Mart. IX. 24. 1). 'Dāphne' is usual, but Petronius (131) has 'Dāphne.' 'Romulēus' is usual, but we have 'Romulēus' in *Pervig. Ven.* 74 (see my note and Clementi). Persius (3. 9; so Auson. *Epigr.* 5. 9) has 'rūdere,' though the *u* is elsewhere short. Lucretius (IV. 641) has 'cōturnix,' Juvenal 'cōturnix' (xii. 97). 'Propino,' has the initial *o* both short (Juv. V. 27, Mart. II. 15. 1) in which case it is a Grecism, and long (Mart. I. 68. 3). Martial even has 'sēlibra' (I. 99. 15; V. 19. 11). This same cause enabled Manilius and Juvenal to shorten the penultimate of 'fortuitus,' which is long in Horace (*Carm.* II. 15. 17): Manil. I. 182 'nam neque fortuitos ortus

surgentibus astris.' Juv. xiii. 225 'non quasi fortuitus nec uentorum rabie sed': so probably Petron. 135 'fortuitoque luto.' For in neither case can the word be scanned by synizesis, since this is never employed by Manilius or Juvenal (L. Müller, *de re metr.* ed. 2, p. 302). In Hor. *Sat.* II. 2. 76, *Ep.* I. 1. 108 'pituita' is probably not a case of synizesis, but should be scanned pītūita; just as Statius (S. I. 6. 16) has 'gratuītus,' though 'gratuītus' is the proper quantity (Plaut. *Cist.* 740). These words had apparently two pronunciations: (1) -ūītus, the literary form; (2) ūītus, the popular form. Further, in the Empire the diphthong ūi became, at least in poetry, ūī (e.g. cūī, a pyrrhic).

These being the facts I retain with confidence in the text of Juvenal 'Venūsinam' in vi. 167, though Venūsia' is usual; 'equitesque Bīthyni' in vii. 15, though 'Bīthynus,' is usual; 'Thrāsymachi' in vii. 204, though 'Thrāsymachus' is usual; 'ficēdulas' in xiv. 9, though 'ficēdula' is usual. Emendation is required in no case, neither Bücheler's 'Venustinam,' though this is confirmed by the Valenciennes MS. (*Class. Q.* VI. 31), nor Bücheler's 'faciantque equites Bithyni,' accepted by Leo, nor Ritschl's 'Tharsymachi' accepted by Leo, though he does not mention Ritschl, nor Lachmann's 'ficellas' (Lucret. III. 992).

As to the construction in Ovid *Trist.* III. 12. 2, 'frigora minuit' must be supplied as complement to the subject 'Maeotis hiems' from 'frigora minuunt' line 1. The ellipsis is parallel to III. 3. 21 discussed above.

IV. 10. 79-80.

non aliter fleui, quam me fleturus ademptum
ille fuit. matris proxima busta tuli.

So most MSS., which reading I restored to the text in my edition. Most editors read 'matri (V) proxima iusta (Cujacius) tuli': wrongly, I think. Vogel, who approves my restoration, aptly quotes Stat. *Silu.* V. 1. 221 'nec enim fumantia busta clamoremque rogi potuit perferre.' The meaning is 'the next obsequies which I endured were my mother's.' This rare sense of *busta* 'the burnt remains' is found also in Stat. *Theb.* XII. 246 'haud procul Ogygias . . . domos et egena sepulcri busta iacere reor.' Lucan VIII. 849 'transibis in urbem, Magne, tuam, summusque feret tua busta sacerdos.'

V. 1. 69-72.

'at mala sunt.' fateor. quis te mala sumere cogit?
aut quis deceptum ponere sumpta uetat?
ipse nec emendo, sed ut hic deducta legantur;
non sunt illa suo barbariora loco.

So the passage should be read with the best MSS. Ovid is arguing with his critical reader, who found fault with the *Tristia* on account of its doleful

character. It is right (replies Ovid) that one who is sad-hearted should express his sadness. 'But (the critical reader then objects) your *Tristia* are poor stuff (*mala*).' 'I admit it (says Ovid). Who compels you to take them up if they are poor stuff? or who forbids you to lay them aside after taking them up, if you are disappointed? I do not even myself revise them. But you should read them with the thought before you that they were composed here in Tomi; they are not more unpolished than the place of their origin.'

When *nec* is seen to be equivalent to *ne quidem* as in *Pont.* I. 1. 19, *A.A.* III. 108, *legantur* construed as a jussive subjunctive, and *ut* taken as standing for *uelut*, this disputed passage becomes intelligible. For this use of *ut* see *Her.* 9. 129 'dat uultum populo sublimis ut Hercule uicto' (where see Palmer); *M.* 1. 585 'natamque miserrimus Io luget ut amissam'; *Hor. Carm.* III. 5. 42 'ut capitis minor.'

Editors usually accept the reading of the inferior MSS. 'ipse nec hoc mando.' This is evidently an interpolation to simplify the construction of *ut legantur*, which words its author took to depend on *mando*. Those who keep this reading suppose it to mean 'mando hoc i.e. ut sumas carmina siue deceptus sumpta ponas,' which is intricate.

V. 10. 41-42.

utque fit, in me aliquid siquidem dicentibus illis
abnuerim quotiens annuerimque putant.

siquidem is found in GHPV: the rest of the MSS. have *siquid*, of which *siquidem* is a corruption. L here fails. Various alterations have been proposed, the best is that of Ellis (*Hermathena*, VII. 210) 'in se aliquid fingi.' Schenkl before him had proposed *se*, but I do not think *me* should be altered. The *d* of *siquid* is probably due to dittography, coming from the succeeding *dicentibus*. Thus *siqui* was in the archetype. I think sense is best restored if we read *ficti*:

utque fit, in me aliquid ficti, dicentibus illis
abnuerim quotiens annuerimque, putant.

Ovid is speaking of the inability of the Getae to understand Latin; he must converse with them by signs. 'And, as often happens, whenever I nod dissent or agreement, they think that there is some deceit in me.' *Fictum* means something made up, untrue. *M.* IX. 768 'sed iam consumpserat omnem materiam ficti'; XII. 57 'mensuraque ficti crescit.'

V. 12. 11.

des licet in ualido pectus mihi robore fultum.

As *fultus* elsewhere, e.g. V. 13. 8, takes a simple ablative, Heinsius altered *in* to *hic*, i.e. 'hic apud Getas'; and in the *Corpus Poetarum* I read *en*. But I am now convinced that *in* is right. The same variation on the simple ablative

construction is found with *nitor* in Lucretius V. 909 'nexus in hoc uno nouitatis nomine inani.' Instances from Cicero are given by Kühner, *L. Gr.* ii. 293.

V. 12. 49-50.

nil mihi debebat cum uersibus amplius esse,
cum fugerem merito naufragus omne fretum.

For *cum* Heinsius introduced *sed* from a few inferior MSS. In the *Corpus* I printed *quin*, the conjecture of Dr. Postgate. I now think that *cum* should not be altered. The meaning is 'I ought to have had no more dealings with poetry since, having been deservedly shipwrecked, I should have entirely avoided the sea.' The language is metaphorical; the *Ars Amatoria* wrecked his fortunes and so he should embark no more upon the sea of poetry.

S. G. OWEN.

THE GRAMMATICAL CHAPTERS IN QUINTILIAN I. 4-8.

I.

THE five chapters which Quintilian has devoted to 'Grammatica' are in many ways the most valuable discussion of the subject which we possess. They are older than any other surviving account, except the remains of Varro *De lingua Latina* and the grammar of Dionysius Thrax, and this last, though far more complete than Quintilian in its examination of the parts of speech, has nothing that compares with the other chapters on analogy, etymology, etc., nor does it give so clear a view of 'grammatica' as a whole. These chapters do not appear to have been treated by any scholar since Nettleship published his article on 'Latin Grammar in the First Century' in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xv.¹ If, in the course of this paper, I traverse on certain points the opinions of so distinguished a scholar, let it be understood that I do so with much diffidence, and only after much consideration of the facts as they appear to me.

Quintilian divides 'grammatica' into two parts, 'recte loquendi scientia,' and 'enarratio poetarum' (i. 4, 2). The former, he tells us afterwards (i. 9, 1), is sometimes called 'methodice,' and the latter 'historice.' Here we have, of course, the distinction so familiar to ourselves between 'grammar' and 'literature.' The first question which I propose to examine in this paper is the history of this distinction.

'Grammar,' in our sense of the word, was no doubt in a way from the first an element in *γραμματική*. Though first developed as a part of *λογική* in the philosophical schools, the results there obtained were taken over and further developed by the Alexandrian Grammarians from the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium. That recognized 'grammatici' of various periods such as Aristarchus, Dionysius Thrax, Nigidius Figulus, or Valerius Cato wrote on what we call 'grammar,' is a fact the evidence for which can be found in any handbook to Greek or Roman literature. On the other hand, it is clear that the earlier conceptions of 'grammatica' do not contain any clear or sharp distinction between grammar and literature, such as we find in Quintilian. This appears both from formal definitions, as well as from general descriptions. Thus Cicero (*de Oratore*, i. 187) says, 'in grammaticis poetarum pertractatio,

¹ Afterwards reprinted in *Lectures and Essays* is given throughout. (Oxford, 1895), to the pages of which reference

historiarum cognitio, uerborum interpretatio, pronuntiandi quidam sonus.' Philo, who has a great many references to the grammarians, always regards the study as literary. 'Grammaticæ' teaches us the *ἱστορίαι παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι*.¹ It *ἐντρέφεται παλαιαῖς καὶ ὠνυγίοις δόξαις*;² it enables us *ἀρχαίαν ἀκοὴν ἔργων καλῶν μεταδιώκειν, ἅπερ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ σύμπαν τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος παραδεδώκασι*;³ although elsewhere⁴ it is pointed out that the *γραμματικός* borrows the explanation of the parts of speech and the nature of words from philosophy. But the short treatise of Dionysius Thrax shows us most clearly the relation which 'grammar' is conceived of as bearing to *γραμματική*. The book really deals entirely with 'grammar,' but it opens with a definition of *γραμματική* and its constituent elements which is almost entirely literary. *γραμματική* itself is defined as *ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων*. This is followed by the enumeration of its six *μέρη*: (1) *ἀνάγνωσις*; (2) *ἐξήγησις κατὰ τρόπους*; (3) *ἀπόδοσις γλωσσῶν καὶ ἱστοριῶν*; (4) *εὗρεσις ἐτυμολογίας*; (5) *ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός*; (6) *κρίσις*. Of these the fifth, and possibly the fourth, are grammatical, but it is clear that the exposition of the parts of speech, etc., into which Dionysius plunges at once, has nothing to do with these, but is intended to serve as an introduction to *ἀνάγνωσις*. The doctrine evidently is that if we are to read properly and intelligently the things contained in the 'poets and prose-writers,' we must first understand the words of which they are composed. In fact, 'grammar' stands to *γραμματική* in much the same relation as the axioms, definitions and postulates of Euclid stand to geometry, a comparison which in fact is actually made by Philo.⁵

It is interesting to compare with Dionysius the views of Varro so far as we know them. Varro defines 'grammatica' itself in exactly the same terms,⁶ but instead of the six *μέρη* of Dionysius we have four 'officia'—viz., 'lectio,' 'emendatio,' 'enarratio,' 'iudicium.'⁷ I shall compare these two systems later; here I will merely point out that all four belong to literature and not to grammar. For though 'emendatio' is defined by Diomedes as 'reorrectio errorum, qui per dictionem⁸ uel per scripturam fiunt,' a definition which would seem to correspond to the 'recte loquendi et scribendi regula' of Quintilian, he is probably mistaken in this. Varro's definition of the four officia is merely a translation of the Greek *διόρθωσις, ἀνάγνωσις, ἐξήγησις, κρίσις*, which are declared by the scholiasts on Dionysius to be *τὰ πάλαι μέρη τῆς γραμματικῆς*, though they give them in varying order. When we remember that *διόρθωσις* is the accepted term for correction of the text, there can, I think, be little doubt that the arrangement in which *διόρθωσις* comes first gives the right order, and

¹ *De Congressu*, 4.

² *De Sac. Ab.*, 22.

³ *ib.*

⁴ *De Congressu*, 26.

⁵ *ib.*

⁶ Marius Victorinus K., vol. vi., p. 4. He adds 'eius præcipua officia sunt quattuor, ut ipsi placet, scribere, legere, intellegere, probare.'

This classification is discussed further on, p. 13. Probably *scribere, legere*, refer to the school of the *γραμματιστής* (so Wilmanns), the other two to the school of the *γραμματικός*, and all four contemplate the work of the pupil, while the other classification thinks of the teacher.

⁷ Ap. Diomedes, K. vol i., p. 426.

⁸ Wilmanns proposed *dictationem* for *dictionem*.

that a fairly correct explanation of the term is given by the scholiast who says *πρὸ τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὸν νέον ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ὁ διορθωτῆς λαμβάνων τὸ βιβλίον διωρθοῦτο αὐτό.*¹

On the whole, then, it would appear that 'grammar' made its way into 'grammatica' in an informal manner, as a necessary part of the equipment of the 'grammaticus,' but not as a separate branch or department. But at the same time it is probably true that from early times such a doctrine as Quintilian's was occasionally held. The idea of Ἑλληνισμός is as old as Aristotle, and the view that it is the first ἀρετή of speech appears in the account of the Stoic system given by Diogenes Laertius (vii. 1. 40). In the face of the growing decay, or what seemed to be decay, of the language it was inevitable that an idea should spring up that the function of γραμματική was to preserve the laws of correct speech as well as to preserve the knowledge and understanding of the classical writers. Indeed, if we may trust a late authority, an early definition was given in something like this sense. Marius Victorinus says, 'ut Aristoni placet, grammaticae est scientia poetas et historicos intelligendi, formam praecipue loquendi ad rationem et consuetudinem dirigens.'² If this Ariston is the same as the Ariston whose definition of rhetoric is given by Quintilian (ii. 15, 19), he belongs presumably to the second century B.C. But though this is a step towards Quintilian's doctrine, it is not quite the same. 'Grammatica,' it is true, has both the functions which Quintilian ascribes to it, but we have not arrived at the idea of two separate bodies of knowledge each with distinct functions.

Two other considerations doubtless contributed to foster the conception of 'grammar' as a science by itself. In the first place the bulk of the subject grew immensely, and what in 150 B.C. might very well pass as a mere introduction to the study of literature, had by A.D. 50, or earlier, entirely outgrown such a conception. Seneca indeed³ seems to suggest that the 'grammaticus' might often find it necessary to confine himself to 'cura sermonis.'³ In the second place there was a growing feeling that the two subjects differed altogether in nature. The first was capable of being reduced to an ordered system; the second was essentially a mass of disconnected facts.⁴ Thus, says Quintilian, 'illam methodicen, hanc historicen uocant.' At what date exactly this recognition of 'grammar' as distinct from 'literature' became thoroughly established, it is, I imagine, impossible to say. All we can tell is that it must be dated somewhere between Dionysius Thrax and Quintilian. It may be added that to judge from the discussion of the subject in Sextus Empiricus, the justice of the distinction was not questioned in later times.

Professor Nettleship (*Essay*, p. 166) says 'to Varro "grammatica" included "lectio," "enarratio," "emendatio," and "iudicium." To Quintilian it is no more than "recte loquendi scientia," and "poetarum enarratio." The school-

¹ *Gram. Graec.*, vol. iii., p. 12.

² *K.* (vol. vi., p. 4).

³ *Sen. Ep.* 88, 3.

⁴ ἀμέθοδος ὄλη, *Sext. Emp. Adv. Gram.* 249. In Diomedes and elsewhere, the two are classed as ὀριστική and ἐξηγητική.

master has driven the philosopher away, or put him into the background.' Whether the antithesis between 'philosopher' and 'schoolmaster' is a sound one, or what there is especially philosophic in the Varronian classification, I will not stop to inquire. But the suggestion that the distinction the history of which I have been endeavouring to trace comes from the 'schoolmaster' is a point which deserves a little discussion. That the history of 'grammatica' has in some ways been influenced by pedagogic considerations—considerations, that is, of what is easy and convenient for the teacher to teach, rather than of the natural order and real value of the things studied, is, I think, the truth. But the present case is not a case in point. The three considerations I have pointed out—(1) the supposed importance of preserving 'Ελληνισμός; (2) the rapid growth of scientific grammar; (3) the intrinsic difference of what can be treated *μεθοδικῶς*, and what is *ἀμέθοδος*, are matters which do not belong to the class-room but to the general trend of thought.

II.

I now pass to Quintilian's treatment of the 'recte loquendi scientia,' which occupies chapters iv. to vi., and is followed by a chapter on the 'recte scribendi regula' or orthography. This last chapter presents no special difficulties, but the scheme of chapters iv. to vi. is apparently very perplexed, and I cannot give the impression they produce at first sight better than by quoting Nettleship's description: 'That part of the first book which begins i. 4. 1, and ends i. 5. 54, contains in an abridged form much of what might well have been found in an *Ars Grammatica*; i. 4 §§ 2-17 treats of letters, §§ 18-21 of the parts of speech, §§ 22-25 of nouns and cases, §§ 26-29 of the verb; i. 5 §§ 5-33 of 'barbarisms,' §§ 34-54 of 'soloecismus'; and at this point Quintilian bids adieu to grammar. He then proceeds to consider the question of words—provincial, Gallic, Spanish, and Greek, simple and compound, literal and metaphorical. Thus the fifth chapter ends, and the sixth is a dissertation on *sermo* or usage, considered under four heads, that of *ratio* or reason, including *analogia* and *etymologia*, antiquity, authority, and custom.'¹ This is, as I have said, a fair description of what appears at first sight, but the writer, I believe, has not observed the connecting-links, and the conclusions he bases on it seem to me erroneous. Assuming 'as almost certain that Quintilian had some technical treatise before him the rules of which he throws into literary form,' Nettleship proceeds to argue that iv. 1 to v. 54 comes from Palaemon,² and v. 55 to vi. 27 from Pliny. This assumption seems to me very far from certain. The points in

¹ *Essay*, pp. 165, 159.

² But as chapter vii. is supposed by Nettleship to be 'taken or adapted' from Verrius, while iv. 6-17 exhibits the same characteristics as vii., the theory has to be complicated by supposing that Palaemon borrowed these sections from Verrius. As a matter of fact the resemblances between Quintilian and Paulus' epitome of

Verrius show, I think, that Quintilian knew and used Verrius, but the introduction of Palaemon is pure hypothesis, at any rate in these sections. It is to be noted that some of the most noteworthy coincidences between Quintilian and Paulus occur in chapter vi., which Nettleship does not ascribe to Verrius.

which Nettleship traces a correspondence between Quintilian on the one hand, and Palaemon and Pliny¹ on the other, appear to me most precarious, and even if they are sound they go very little way to show direct borrowing. Grammar was at that time a progressive science: each writer built upon the foundation of his predecessors, sometimes affirming, sometimes denying. Quintilian, no doubt, read and weighed his authorities. He actually quotes Caesar, Messalla, Asconius, and 'nostri praeceptores.' Many people seem to have a poorer opinion than I have of Quintilian's ability. He may, as Rutherford says, 'have read more than he can carry,' but no one, I should have thought, could have failed to see that he always tried to think out things for himself. As to Palaemon, while it is true that the scholiast on Iuu. 6. 451 says that Quintilian had been his pupil, and that in that case he probably owes much to him, it should be noted that in the one passage from the part supposed to be adapted from Palaemon, in which he mentions that writer's name, he says that 'some authorities give nine parts of speech, but Aristarchus and in our own times Palaemon gave eight, as they did not distinguish the noun from the appellation, but whether this is right or not, as it matters little, I leave an open question.' To suppose that this is a transcript from Palaemon seems somewhat perverse.

But Nettleship's view involves a more serious charge against Quintilian. He is charged with having dovetailed Palaemon on grammar into Pliny on 'sermo' without any attempt at coherence or arrangement. This is entirely contrary to Quintilian's habit, and it is a supposition which should only be adopted as a last resource. I believe the chapters, if read properly, show a very clear and coherent scheme.

Quintilian begins with some remarks on the parts of speech and their subdivisions, and of this chapter Nettleship's analysis may be accepted; but it should be observed that there is no attempt to give any detailed account like that of Dionysius Thrax, but merely to note a few points which either are frequently neglected or present special interest. Thus he dwells at some length on the eight (or nine) parts of speech, because so many different opinions were held on them. The importance of declining nouns and verbs is mentioned because so many teachers neglect it. Such questions as whether the ablative should be distinguished from the instrumental or the impersonal passive from the ordinary passive are noted. The whole of this chapter, in fact, is largely directed to meet the objection that grammar is 'tenuis et ieiuna,' and to show that in this introductory branch many difficult and interesting *quaestiones* arise.

¹ He brings forward three points in which Quintilian discusses or mentions questions known to have been discussed by Pliny; (a) declension of Greek nouns in -o; (b) the coincidence in gender of the diminutive with the principal noun; (c) the two forms *Albanus* and *Albensis* from *Alba*. Of these (a) had been discussed by Caesar, and Pliny and Quintilian both dis-

agreed with him; (b) Pliny is stated to have followed Varro; (c) is mentioned by Varro, *L.L.* viii. 35. All three were stock cases. Two other points are mentioned which Nettleship thinks *may* have been quoted by Charisius from Pliny. One of them, at any rate, is in Varro, the other, or a similar one, had been discussed both by Pliny and Caesar.

When this work of classification and definition has been disposed of (so Quintilian continues in chapter v.), the principles of 'emendate' or 'recte loquendi' may be approached. These apply (1) to 'singula uerba'; (2) to 'plura uerba.' 'Singula uerba' may be classified as (a) native or foreign; (b) single or compound; (c) literal or metaphorical; (d) in common use or made up (*usitata aut ficta*).¹ It is in choosing between the two classes in each pair that the 'regula recte loquendi,' so far as 'singula uerba' are concerned, chiefly acts. But before we deal with these we must dispose of actually wrong or impossible words, (1) 'barbarismi,' which belong to 'uerba singula'; (2) 'solecismi,' which belong to 'plura uerba.' We accordingly deal with these. But barbarisms and solecisms are mere deformities (*foeditas*); the normal application of the 'regula recte loquendi' lies rather in the choice of words which are more or less *dubia*.² We therefore now return to our main subject,³ and say something about the lines to be followed in choosing 'singula uerba' as classified above.⁴

Having done this we should naturally proceed to deal with the 'regula recte loquendi in pluribus uerbis.' Instead of this we have the dissertation on 'sermo' of Chapter vi. The solution of this difficulty lies, I believe, in supposing that 'sermo' is simply the same as 'plura uerba.' That Quintilian frequently uses 'sermo' as a contrast to single words may be shown by the following, (i. 1, 31) 'syllabis uerba complecti et his sermonem connectere,' (i. 5, 2) 'omnia (i.e. uerba) per quae sermo nectitur,' (i. 5, 34, of the solecism) 'in uerbo esse uitium non in sermone contendunt,' (viii. 6, 1) 'tropus est uerbi uel sermonis . . . mutatio.' It is not perhaps so easy to see how the examples which Quintilian treats in his discourse on 'sermo' fall under the head of 'plura uerba.' Why, for instance, should the question of *domu* or *domo* (i. 6, 5) or of *audacter* or *audaciter* be matters of 'plura uerba' any more than the choice of *raeda* (i. 5, 57) (instead of some native Latin word), which is classed as 'unius uerbi'? The answer is, I think, that chapter vi. deals with formations or 'declinatio,' a term used very widely to describe not merely inflections, but derivatives, and that every such 'declinatum' is considered in relation to the word from which it is formed, and therefore raises a question not of 'unum uerbum' but of 'plura uerba.' This view that 'sermo' (in chapter vi.) = 'declinata' = 'plura uerba' = 'formations' seems to be confirmed by i. 5, 16. Here Quintilian says that as 'barbarismi' applies to single words, it may perhaps seem absurd to apply the term to cases where the erroneous form involves an error in a number or gender. He instances amongst others

¹ Elsewhere called 'noua.'

² 'Arte non egent, cuius in hoc opere non est usus nisi in *dubitis*,' i. 6, 38; 'analogiae haec uis est, ut id, quod *dubium* est, ad aliquid simile de quo non quaeritur referat,' i. 6, 3.

³ 'hoc amplius ut institutum ordinem sequar.' These are the words with which, on Nettleship's theory, Quintilian 'having bid adieu to Grammar' (and Palaemon) proceeds to make a literary

transcript of Pliny! No more unlikely place can be imagined for such a complete break.

⁴ One of the four pairs 'translata' and 'propria' is passed over with a bare mention and no examples. Quintilian, no doubt, felt that it belonged rather to rhetoric—i.e., it was not so much a question 'recte loquendi,' as 'bene dicendi.'

gladia for *gladius*. He himself apparently regards this as an error ‘*unius uerbi*,’ for let *gladia* once be postulated, *gladium*, *gladiae* follow normally, and are not really erroneous, but he is aware that the ‘*prima facie*’ view is that all these forms in *-a* are erroneous, and therefore are not ‘*unius uerbi*.’

Assuming then that this chapter gives us the ‘*regula recte loquendi in pluribus uerbis*,’ what is this ‘*regula*’? I understand it as follows. The ‘*declinatio*’ of words is naturally and normally determined by ‘*ratio*,’ i.e. by ‘*analogia*’ and ‘*etymologia*.’ Thus by ‘*analogia*’ we should expect *domus*, *domūs*, *domu*; *senatus*, *senatūs*, *senatu*; *ferueo*, *feruet*: while by ‘*etymologia*’ we should expect *medius* to produce *medidiem*. The forces which militate against this natural tendency are ‘*uetustas*,’ ‘*auctoritas*,’ ‘*consuetudo*.’ Thus ‘*uetustas*’ might be pleaded to justify *senati*, the ‘*auctoritas*’ of Lucilius for *feruit*, while ‘*consuetudo*’ declares for *domo* and perhaps for *meridiem*. It is true that in developing these heads Quintilian does not always confine himself to examples of ‘*declinatio*.’¹ The question, for instance, of the correctness of *topper* is really a question ‘*unius uerbi*.’ But I do not think this is any objection to the view of ‘*sermo*’ and of this chapter taken above. The four forces ‘*ratio*,’ ‘*uetustas*,’ ‘*auctoritas*,’ ‘*consuetudo*’ work principally in the sphere of ‘*plura uerba*,’ but they also work elsewhere. It is not very remarkable that Quintilian having introduced these four heads should discourse at large upon them, without confining himself strictly to the subject in connection with which he introduced them. This may convict him to a certain extent of irrelevance, but irrelevance is a different thing from incoherence, of which under any other view of ‘*sermo*’ as used in this chapter, he must, I think, stand convicted.

With regard to these four heads, Nettleship,² who holds (I think on quite insufficient grounds) that they come from Pliny, contrasts them with Varro’s ‘*natura*,’ ‘*analogia*,’ ‘*consuetudo*,’ ‘*auctoritas*,’ as reported in Diomedes (K. i, 433). What Diomedes actually says is:

‘*Latinitas est incorrupta loquendi obseruatio, secundum Romanam linguam. constat autem, ut asserit Varro, his quatuor, natura, analogia, consuetudine, auctoritate. natura uerborum nominumque immutabilis est, nec quicquam aut minus aut plus tradidit nobis, quam quod accipit. nam si quis dicit *scrimbo* quod est *scribo*, non analogiae uirtute, sed natura ipsius constitutionis conuincitur.*’³

Now passing over the point that Varro is stated to be discussing ‘*Latinitas*’ not ‘*sermo*,’ we may ask, Are the second and third sentences intended to give us Varro’s view of ‘*natura*’? If so, it corresponds exactly to Quintilian’s

¹ The fact is that it is very difficult to keep the two apart. Thus in v. 55 etc., the question of the choice between Greek and Latin words, which is a matter of ‘*singula uerba*,’ inevitably leads to a discussion of Greek declension as opposed to Latin declension in names like *Calypso*, which, as a matter of formation, really

belongs to ‘*plura uerba*.’

² *Essay*, p. 161.

³ In Charisius (K. i, 50) the same statement with the same explanation of ‘*natura*’ and the same example of *scrimbo* is given of ‘*sermo*,’ but here it is not ascribed to Varro.

'singula uerba.' *Scrimbo* is a 'barbarismus.' We decide between *scrimbo* and *scribo* without reference to any other word. On this view of 'natura' Quintilian, in deciding the principles on which his 'sermo' depends, would be bound to eliminate it, and his division is really much the same as Varro's, or at least merely exhibits the development which might be expected during the time that elapsed between the two writers. I find it difficult, however, to bring Diomedes' explanation into harmony with the ninth book of the *De Lingua Latina*. There Varro clearly identifies 'natura' with 'analogia.' If we follow analogy we follow nature: if we allow 'consuetudo' to override it we go against nature. I am inclined on the whole to believe that what Varro really said was 'natura, siue analogia.' On either view, however, Quintilian will be brought into substantial agreement with Varro.

The scheme then of chapters iv.-vii. in my view is as follows. The subject of the whole is 'recte loquendi et scribendi scientia':

Chapter iv. The grammarian must observe and classify the facts of the language.

Chapter v. He must then apply this knowledge practically to establish the 'regula recte loquendi' (a) in singulis uerbis, (b) in pluribus uerbis.

(a 1) He will eliminate actual mistakes 'in singulis uerbis' (*barbarismus*).

(b 1) He will do the same 'in pluribus uerbis' (*soloecismus*).

(a 2) He will deal with 'dubia' (i.e. with questions where there is fair room for discussion) 'in singulis uerbis.' Here the choice will be chiefly between (a) native and foreign words, (β) compounded and uncompounded, (γ) literal and metaphorical, (δ) familiar and new.

Chapter vi. (b 2). He will deal with 'dubia' 'in pluribus uerbis.' Here his choice will lie between the conflicting claims of 'analogia' and 'etymologia' on the one hand, and 'uetustas,' 'auctoritas,' and 'consuetudo' on the other.

It is to be understood that both in a 2 and b 2 the final choice must depend on the 'iudicium' of the grammaticus.¹

The subject is concluded by some remarks on the 'regula scribendi recte,' Chapter vii. discussing various 'dubious' cases, and deciding that the general rule must be to adhere as closely as possible to the sound of the word unless 'consuetudo' decides otherwise. Thus the chapters form an organic whole, though they do not attempt to give a complete 'Ars,' but merely to sketch the principles on which the 'recte loquendi et scribendi scientia' should be taught. They do not pretend to originality, but it is impossible to say on what authorities the writer relies, and for the theory that one part of them is drawn from one author, and another from another, there is no evidence whatever.

[The words 'est etiam sua loquentibus obseruatio, sua scribentibus' at the beginning of Chapter vi. may seem to be against my view of the connection of that chapter. They look as if a new departure were now taken, and we were entering upon the question of spoken language in general, as opposed to questions of mere spelling, which are to be dealt with in Chapter vii. I am

¹ i. 6, 3 'omnia (i.e. analogia, etc.) exigunt acre iudicium.'

inclined to think that these words really belong to Chapter v., and refer to the subject with which that chapter closes—viz. ‘onomatopoeic words.’ Quintilian does not here (though no doubt he does elsewhere) contrast ‘loqui’ with ‘scribere’ in the sense of words as they sound opposed to words as they are spelt, but in the sense of conversational language opposed to the more formal written language. Many onomatopoeic formations, he means, may sound all right in conversation, but you would hardly venture to use them in writing. We should probably say the same of slang in general.]

III.

I now turn to the consideration of the literary side of ‘grammatica,’ that side which he describes in chapter iv. as ‘enarratio poetarum,’ and in chapter ix. as ‘historice.’ But before doing this it will be well to compare Dionysius’ classification with the Varronian, which, as I have said, is not really Varro’s, but taken over by him from the Greek schools. For convenience, however, I will continue to use the term ‘Varronian.’ We have :

Dionysius.	Varronian.
ἀνάγνωσις { καθ’ ὑπόκρισιν	διόρθωσις
{ κατὰ προσφθίαν	ἀνάγνωσις
{ κατὰ διαστολήν	ἐξήγησις
ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους	κρίσις
γλωσσῶν καὶ ἱστοριῶν ἀπόδοσις	
ἐτυμολογίας εὗρεσις	
ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός	
κρίσις ποιημάτων.	

We may fairly assume that the ‘Varronian’ classification is the older, and we may note the following differences :

Firstly, *διόρθωσις* is absent in Dionysius’ list, a phenomenon which we shall find recurring in Quintilian. I do not think we should infer from this that the grammarians in their capacity of scholars had ceased or were ceasing to pay attention to textual criticism. The history of the school of Aristarchus proves the opposite, and there are several passages in Quintilian¹ and other writers which testify to the attention paid to MSS. evidence. The omission is due to what may with justice be called a ‘pedagogic’ reason, though at the same time I believe a perfectly sound one. It was thought wisest to put into the hands of boys the best text and expound that, without troubling them with various readings, a view in which probably most schoolmasters to-day would concur. Rutherford remarks on the paucity of textual notes in the scholia on Aristophanes.²

Secondly, the vague term *ἐξήγησις* has been developed into (1) *ἐξήγησις*

¹ Useful examples are given in Lehr’s *Aristarchus*, p. 344.

² *A Chapter in the History of Annotation*, chapter 1.

κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, (2) γλωσσῶν καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις. This brings us to the very heart of the ancient theory of teaching literature. The underlying doctrine I take to be this: Obscurity, which it is the purpose of ἐξήγησις to remove, arises in poetry from three causes: (1) The use of uncommon or obsolete words (γλῶσσαι), (2) allusions to facts unknown to the reader (ἱστορίαι), (3) the presence of 'tropes,' i.e. 'sermones a naturali et principali significatione translati,' or 'figures,' i.e. 'conformationes quaedam orationis remotae a communi.'¹ To explain the γλῶσσαι and ἱστορίαι all that is needed is that the grammarian should know and state each point as it arises.² The difficulties that still remain must be solved by giving the student a knowledge of the possible tropes and figures, and training him to trace each case to its particular lair. Beyond these no further ἐξήγησις is required. If we had not so completely lost the science of tropes and figures, we might possibly find that this doctrine, though far from being absolutely true, contains a considerable element of truth. At any rate, I am sure that a certain amount of ἐξήγησις κατὰ τρόπους would be found by teachers of English Literature to impart both interest and method to their lessons.

Thirdly, while the science of grammar, generally speaking, is not reckoned by Dionysius as a separate branch of the subject, but rather as an introduction, the grammatical treatment of the books is to some extent acknowledged under the heads of parsing (ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός) and etymology. This classification does not seem to have held its ground, in spite of the great authority of Dionysius, to judge from Sextus Empiricus,³ who says that Dionysius ἀτόπως διαιρεῖται, accuses him of raising to the position of μέρη what are really μόρια and ἀποτελέσματα, and does not seem to have found the classification in any other authority.

Now to turn to Quintilian, though his terminology has a certain inconsistency, his general principles are clear. In Chapters iv. and ix. he speaks of the whole literary department as 'enarratio poetarum,' but in the first of these he hastens to add 'enarrationem praecedat emendata lectio.' In chapter viii., where he deals with the subject in detail, he divides the course of instruction into (1) 'lectio,' (2) 'praelectio' (in praelegendo grammaticus debet, etc.), and (3) 'enarratio historiarum.' With regard to the first of these, while his account is more discursive and less business-like than that of Dionysius, it covers practically the same ground.

Thus 8, § 1:

ubi suspendere spiritum debeat, quo loco uersum = Dionysius' ἀνάγνωσις
distinguere, ubi claudatur sensus, unde in- κατὰ διαστολήν
cipiat, quando attollenda uel submittenda

¹ Quintilian ix. 1, 4.

² For this reason perhaps the curious epithet πρόχειρος is attached to γλωσσῶν καὶ ἱστοριῶν ἀπόδοσις. With them the teacher has merely to state the facts; with the ἐξήγησις κατὰ τρόπους, a

more 'heuristic' method has to be adopted, Cf. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Gram.*, 249, ἱστορικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν προχειρότητα τῆς ἀμεθοδου ὕλης.

³ *Adv. Gram.*, 250.

sit uox, quo quidque flexu, quid lentius celerius, concitatus lenius dicendum.

§ 2:

sit autem in primis lectio uirilis et cum suauitate = κατὰ προσφδίαν
quadam grauis, et non quidem prosae similis
. . . non tamen in canticum dissoluta nec
plasmate . . . effeminata.

§ 3:

nec prosopopoeias . . . ad comicum morem pro- = καθ' ὑπόκρισιν
nuntiari uelim, esse tamen flexum quemdam,
quo distinguantur ab iis in quibus poeta
persona sua utetur.

It may be noted here that Quintilian with his usual incisive common-sense adds, 'unum est igitur quod in hac parte praecipiam: ut omnia ista facere possit, intelligat,' from which we may infer that the 'praelectio' was to some extent what its name implies. The teacher had *first* to explain sufficiently to make the general sense intelligible. Detailed comments no doubt followed the reading lesson.

When we come to the 'praelectio' the duties of the grammaticus are stated thus:

1. He must make his pupil give:

- (a) The 'partes orationis' (ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός),
- (b) The 'pedum proprietates'—i.e. scan.

2. Point out 'barbara et impropria, quae contra leges loquendi sint posita.'

3. Show the various senses in which words are used—i.e. homonyms.

4. Explain 'glossemata' or 'uoces minus usitatas' (γλωσσῶν ἀπόδοσις.)

5. Show tropes and figures (ἐξήγησις κατὰ τρόπους). This is to be done 'maiore cura.'

And then follows this sentence:

Praecipue uero illa infigat animis, quae in oeconomia uirtus, quae in decore rerum, quid personae cuique conueniat, quid in sensibus laudandum, quid in uerbis, ubi copia probabilis, ubi modus.

That is, he will group his criticisms of the poem under the following heads:

- (a) Structure.
- (b) Appropriateness and beauty of the incidents.
- (c) Characterization.
- (d) Notable thoughts.
- (e) Beauty of diction.
- (f) Criticism of the style (at least from the point of view of fullness or brevity).

This passage, which I venture to think contains much useful instruction for those who essay the difficult task of teaching English Literature, corresponds I believe to the Dionysian κρίσις, ὃ κάλλιστόν ἐστι μέρος τῆς τέχνης. Finally there comes, with a somewhat depreciatory paragraph to itself, the 'enarratio historiarum.'

When we compare this sketch with the scheme of Dionysius we see that while the general principles remain the same, there are some important differences. The grammatical element has come much more to the front. To the bare parsing or ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός is added scansion and the noting of 'barbara et impropria uerba,' and the study of 'homonyms.' This, of course, was bound to be the consequence of the elevation of the 'loquendi regula' into one half of the whole 'grammatica.' The 'grammaticus' might and did, no doubt, lecture separately on the 'loquendi regula,'¹ but he was also sure to use the literary 'praelectio' as a means of enforcing and illustrating the rules which he had expounded. Why ἐτυμολογίας εὔρεσις finds no place in Quintilian's scheme it is difficult to say. He has already discussed the value of etymology as a criterion of correct language, and though he thought much of the current work in the subject fanciful and ridiculous, he can hardly have intended to exclude it from the 'praelection.' The omission is, perhaps, purely accidental.

I have suggested above that the passage 'praecipue—modus' i. 8, 17 corresponds to the Dionysian κρίσις, but this point requires some discussion. Rutherford² holds that Dionysius rather refers to the art by which the critic detects the spuriousness of lines, passages or words, and it is true enough, as he says, that this was the part of Aristarchus' work which attracted most notice in antiquity. It may be added that the scholiasts of Dionysius are unanimous in putting this interpretation upon the word, and further, perhaps, that Quintilian, in i. 4, 3,³ implies that one of the functions of 'iudicium' was to declare that passages or whole books were unworthy of the supposed author and therefore spurious, or that the author as a whole was unworthy of a place in the 'canon.' It seems to me indeed most probable that in the formula διόρθωσις, ἀνάγνωσις, ἐξήγησις, κρίσις, the last term did originally bear this limited meaning. My reason for thinking that Dionysius uses it in a wider sense is that his purpose appears to be pedagogic, while the original formula thought of the 'grammaticus' rather as a scholar. Just as Dionysius omits διόρθωσις because textual emendation was not a suitable study for schoolboys, so I take it he may be expected to have held the view that before you lay down to boys that such and such passages are genuine or spurious you must teach them to appreciate their merits or demerits. In what sense Varro used 'iudicium' is also uncertain, but such evidence as we have seems

¹ Quintilian i. 2, 14.

² *A Chapter in the History of Annotation*, chapter vi.

³ 'et mixtum his omnibus iudicium est, quo quidem ita seuere sunt uti ueteres grammatici,

ut non uersus modo censoria quadam uirgula notare et libros, qui falso uiderentur inscripti, tanquam subditos summonere familia permiserint sibi, sed auctores alios in ordinem redegerint alios omnino exemerint numero.'

to point to the wider meaning. In the first place, both Marius Victorinus and Diomedes explain the term as equal to 'bene dictorum comprobatio,' and, secondly, the other classification ascribed to Varro suggests that just as *intelligere* corresponds to 'enarratio,' so does *probare* to 'iudicium.'¹ The teacher *indicat*, i.e., notes the merits of the writer; the pupil *probat* the same.

Dionysius then having in view the requirements of the class-room, has, I think, widened the term *κρίσις*, originally suggesting the *sentence* pronounced by the 'grammaticus,' to include the *grounds of judgment* on which such sentences were formed, to mean in fact 'critical appreciations.' Quintilian goes a step further: he keeps the substance of the Dionysian *κρίσις*, but refuses to use the term (at least so I understand the passage i. 4, 3 quoted above) because he wants it for something else. His meaning is that 'iudicium' cannot be limited to any particular department of 'grammatica.' It must be remembered that Quintilian's most fundamental educational principle is the right and duty of private judgment,² that there are no such things in any department of learning as 'καθολικά praecepta'—rules which are universally and invariably true. Thus in iii. 3, 5 and vi. 5, 1 he deprecates the view that 'iudicium' can be regarded as a special province in *rhetoric*, for it is inseparable from every part of the work, and cannot be made the subject of the rules of art, any more than taste or smell. And so too with 'grammatica,' the word 'iudicium' is wanted for the faculty of independent judgment, which is capable at any moment of overriding the dictates of general law and thinking for itself.

We have seen that Quintilian reserves to the end the 'enarratio historiarum'—the exposition, that is, of questions arising out of the subject-matter of the book or allusions contained therein.³

The best account of 'historiae' is to be found in Sextus Empiricus,⁴ making due allowance for his hostile bias. 'Histories' may be classified as true (historical in the limited sense), or fictitious though possible as in comedies (*πλάσματα*), or fabulous (*μῦθοι*). Or again they may be classified as dealing with places, dates, personages or actions. Some examples are given. 'Brileus is a mountain in Attica;' 'Acamas is a promontory in Cyprus.' 'Pelops' shoulder was of ivory, and was eaten by either Ares or Demeter.' 'Xenophanes was a Colophonian, and lived about the fortieth Olympiad.' 'Plato's name was Aristocles, and he wore earrings.' That information of this sort, which is frequently relevant and even necessary, should constantly tend to develop into laborious erudition is a necessity of human, or at any rate of a schoolmaster's, nature. The sarcastic references to this are of course very frequent. I need not do more than refer to Mayor's note on Juvenal vii. 234.

Seneca in a passage⁵ already quoted says 'grammaticus circa curam

¹ *Vide* note on p. 3.

² Quintilian ii. 13, 14.

³ Rutherford translates 'matters of fact.'

⁴ *Adv. Gram.* 250, and following sections.

⁵ *Ep.* 88, 3.

sermonis uersatur, et si latius euagari uult, circa historias, iam ut longissime fines suos proferat, circa carmina.' The natural meaning of this is that some grammarians taught 'historiae' without teaching anything else about 'carmina.' In other words, 'historiae' in Seneca's time were regarded as coming earlier in the literary curriculum than the other parts of 'enarratio poetarum.' Now it is no doubt possible that Seneca may be writing with the same dogmatic ignorance with which modern journalists and speakers often write and speak about school practice, but his words receive a strong confirmation from Sextus Empiricus. Sextus knows nothing of the Varronian classification, and only mentions the Dionysian to express his astonishment at it. With him the accepted classification is into *τεχνικόν, ιστορικόν, ιδιαίτερον*.¹ This last is described thus: *τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἐπισκοποῦσι, καθ' ὃ τὰ ἀσαφῶς λεγόμενα ἐξηγοῦνται τὰ τε ὑγιή καὶ τὰ μὴ τοιαῦτα κρίνουσι, τὰ τε γνήσια ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων διορίζουσι*. Sextus does not suggest as Seneca does that there were schools where *τὸ ιδιαίτερον* was not taught at all, but he does suggest that the latter was felt to be the more advanced, and that there was a clear dividing line between it and the 'historic' treatment. When Quintilian reserves his remarks on the 'enarratio historiarum' to the end he does not of course mean to reverse the order given by Seneca and Sextus.² He feels that the 'historiae' absorb so much time and attention that the question of their treatment demands special discussion, and he wishes to warn the teacher against exaggerating their importance.³

One other important difference between Quintilian and Dionysius remains to be noted. The latter includes prose writers (*συγγραφεῖς*) in the subject-matter of *γραμματική*, while in Quintilian, although prose composition of a sort is learnt from the grammarians, the study of prose-writers is entirely reserved for the rhetoric school. So far as I know, in all Roman writers the practising sphere of the grammarian is invariably limited to poetry, though the view that originally *γραμματική* included at any rate the historians is put forward by Quintilian himself in ii. 1, 4.⁴ What, then, led to their complete exclusion in later times from the Roman schools, if not from the Greek? I have no doubt that we must largely ascribe it to the Roman conviction that poetry is an essential element in the formation of national character, a con-

¹ *Adv. Gram.* 92, 93. I think this passage supports the view of *κρίσις* taken above. He seems to use *ὑγιής* in the sense of 'valuable,' 'morally sound.' I do not know whether *ὑγιής* is ever used of 'sound text.' Stephanus gives no examples of it.

² In i. 2. 14 he gives the same order as the others, 'grammaticus si de loquendi ratione disserat, si quaestiones explicet, historias exponat, poemata enarret.'

³ The view adopted by Quintilian and those who advocated the teaching of *τὸ ιδιαίτερον* as superior to *τὸ ιστορικόν* is closely paralleled by modern views of teaching Shakespeare. The Clarendon Press editions, which restricted them-

selves mainly to *γλωσσῶν καὶ ιστοριῶν ἀπόδοσις*, have now given place to the Pitt Press and other editions, in which *κρίσις* plays a prominent part.

⁴ Quint. i. 4, 4, 'nec poetas legisse satis est: excutiendum omne scriptorum genus non propter historias modo, sed uerba, quae frequenter ius ab auctoribus sumunt,' does not contradict this. Quintilian is here speaking of the equipment of the 'grammaticus' himself. Just as he will require some knowledge of astronomy and music, so he must read prose-writers, both in order to master the rules of language and to enable him to deal adequately with the 'historiae' of the poets.

viction so nobly expressed by Horace in the first epistle of the second book.¹ But it is also probably due to a pedagogic reason which remains for all time. Many teachers to-day, I fancy, find it exceedingly difficult to treat English prose-writers with any effect in school, and to produce a satisfactory examination paper upon them is as a rule still more difficult. The teacher may very possibly prefer *Robinson Crusoe* or *Treasure Island* to a play of Shakespeare, or at any rate think them more suitable and interesting for young boys, but he has not the slightest idea what to do with them in class. They have no *γλῶσσαι* or *ἱστορίαι*, and I do not think they would lend themselves to *ἐξήγησις κατὰ τρόπους*, even if our schoolmasters knew anything of this last. We gather from Quintilian ii. 5 that when the orators and historians were read in the rhetorical schools they were merely read as models,² and little attempt was made to treat them in the same systematic way in which the poets were treated in the grammatical schools. Greek 'rhetors' sometimes attempted something of the sort, though even they usually delegated it to their assistants. Quintilian himself advocated it, but only to the extent of giving literary appreciations, and even this he found was unwelcome to many of his pupils.

The *Classical Quarterly* is not the place to discuss modern educational questions, but I may perhaps be allowed to say in conclusion that the ancient teachers of literature had thought out their business with a care and thoroughness from which their modern successors have much to learn. There is a tendency to depreciate the schools of the Empire, and I am free to admit that in some ways they did their work too well. 'They swamped the sacred poets with themselves.' But I cannot think that their work was on the whole unsuccessful. It is true that neither 'grammatica' nor rhetoric taught people to write or speak with genius and power (what school ever did or could?), but they did teach a very clear insight into the meaning, nature, and functions of language. Perhaps their work may best be seen in two products of these centuries, which have had at any rate a very remarkable permanence—the Roman Codes and the Creeds of the Christian Church.

F. H. COLSON.

¹ Also admirably stated by Mr. Garrod in his introduction to the *Oxford Book of Latin Verse*.

² And also for the value of the subject-matter as 'exempla.'

SALAPANTIVM DISERTVM.

Catullus liii. 5.

Di magni, salapantium disertum.

Our best MSS. agree upon *salapantium*. But they also agree upon *desertum* for *disertum*. Seneca, who quotes the last two words of the line, has *salaput(t)ium disertum*; and since he is right about *disertum* it is supposed that he is right about *salaputium*; and *salaputium* stands in all our texts of Catullus. What it means nobody knows. It is mostly relegated to that numerous class of Latin words of which we conjecture that they are obscene and are content that they should remain obscure. A few commentators, aiming at respectability in their etymologies, connect it unconvincingly with the Greek *σαλπικτής*. But no one will say what is the matter with the *salapantium* of Catullus' MSS.; and I begin to think that it has not occurred to anybody that it has got, or could have, a meaning. I say 'to anybody'; yet I am not sure that the scribe of the *Codex Ashburneri*, or the scholar he served, did not long ago find the truth. The *Codex Ashburneri*, often cited by Ellis, is in the main a worthless MS.: I have myself examined it for hours on end. But it has here a not uninteresting variant. It offers the form *salafantium*, i.e. *salaphantium*. *Salaphantium* is a diminutive of *salaphanta*. Someone called Calvus 'an eloquent little *salaphant*.' And why not? If he had called him 'an eloquent little sycophant' we should have understood him well enough. And there is not a whole world of difference between a sycophant and a salaphant. A salaphant is the same thing as a halophant (or halapant)—the one word is merely a hybrid variant for the other: and the halophant and sycophant occur together in literature more than once. Nonius p. 172, Lindsay, has

halophantam aut sycophantam, hominum genus nequam quod ob suenda
mendacia miserrima mercede conducitur,

and he goes on to quote Plautus, *Curculio* 463,

halophantamne aut sycophantam magis esse dicam <nescio>,

and from some unknown comedian

halophantam mendacem uelit.

Festus, in the excerpt of Paulus (Lindsay, p. 90), offers the form *halapanta*. 'Significat omnia mentientem,' he says (suggesting an inept derivation which need not detain us).

Halophanta, *halapanta*, *salap(h)anta*, then, are one and the same word, a word formed humorously on the analogy of *sycophanta*, and meaning *any liar on a large scale whose services may be hired*. The 'nescio quis e corona' who lifted his hands in astonishment and called Calvus a *salapantium* (he used the diminutive because, as Seneca says, Calvus was 'paruolus statura') meant to call him plainly 'a mighty little liar'; and that was what made Catullus laugh.

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ETYMOLOGIES AND DERIVATIONS.

I. Sanskrit *medîn* 'comes': *μετά*.

1. IN Skr. *medîn* we have an Indo-Iranian *-in* derivative of a proethnic start-form (s)*met-sdos* 'co-sedens,' whose initial *s* may have been lost by haplology, but cf. Av. *maṭ* 'μετά.' Homeric *ἄοζος* 'attendant' (start-form *sm-sodyos*) is a like compound, meaning *co-sedens* and not 'mitgänger' (pace Johansson *IF*. III. 199), but has suffered psilosis. Out of composition, unless the 'suffix' conceals a posterius, we may have a further cognate in Lat. *sodalis* 'boon-companion,' wherein *sodā-* may have meant something like 'session' (the council or board of elders in the Scotch kirk).

2. I further hold that *μετά*, before it became an adverb and preposition, must have functioned as a noun, **μέτα*, meaning 'comes'; and as an adverb in Homer it has scarcely passed beyond the sense of 'comes' as used, with or without a dative regimen, in combination with *it* 'goes' (= geht mit; cf. e.g. Tibullus I. 4. 41; *Aen.* 6. 159; see a collection of the usage in *Class. Journal* 8, 253). The noun type in *-ā* (? *ə*), excluding dubious cases like Homeric *ἵπποτα*, is best illustrated by Latin words like *aduena* (with secondary *n* for *m*). As *ad-uena* is a compound, so I analyze **μέτα* as a compound of *sm*, preaccentual reduction of *som*, + *eta* (*etə*?) 'errans, currens, iens': Skr. *ātati* 'errat.' I have found this noun before now in Homeric *ἔται* 'comites,' from *sw-* 'co-' + *ἔται* 'euntes' (*AJPh.* 28, 166), as also, *excep. excip.*, in Latin *com-et-*. That in *comes* the *e* may be original and not represent an *i* (so already Ebel in *KZ.* 5, 187, anno 1856) seems to me demonstrated by the following cognation:

II. Latin *pedet-*: Skr. *padātis* 'foot-soldier.'

3. The Petersburg lexica give the following forms: *padāti-s*, *pādāt* (lexical only), *pādāta-s*, *padāta-s* (pronounced incorrect). The first form is a good epic word, and was analyzed in PW¹ (1865) as '*pad-* oder *pada-* + *āti* "gehend" von *at-*,' though Walter had in the meantime (1861) already advanced the now reigning explanation whereby *equet-* e.g. is equated with *ἵπποτης* (*KZ.* 10, 194 sq.); and the analysis of *padāti-* as a compound was expressly rejected (p. 205). Walter's conclusion has been held pretty much ever since, so that one would search in vain in the handbooks for a reference from *pedes* to *padāti-s* (e.g. in Walde², p. 579). But, as Bartholomae saw (*BB.* 17, 114¹), we cannot

separate the two words, and Skr. *pattis* looks also to belong with them. When Bartholomae sweepingly declares that the division *pad-* + *āti-s* 'iens' is false, that is purely gratuitous on his part. Every objection to that analysis meets a ready answer. The root *a^{wt}-* is alive in Sanskrit only: true, but it yielded before *i-t-*: *ēy-*. The IE. language probably had several words for 'going' allocated to different sorts of goers, to different modes of motion. The unique survival of some of these is quite in the range of probability; and so is their tautological combination as, say, in Skr. *āt-ya-s* 'horse' (§ 12). For the survival in composition of the root *et/ot*, for this was its vocalism, I have brought a good deal of evidence in *Classical Quarterly* 3, 272, and I have collected a great deal more that I propose to present in another paper. The objection that *padāti-* is a *ti-* stem, Lat. *pedet-* a *t-* stem, needs no answer, but cf. lexical Skr. *pādāt*. The objection that will weigh most is against the difference of quantity in *-et-* and *-āti-*.

4. In arguing on this point, without denying that in *padāti-* we may have a prius *padā* (instrum.), I exclude it from consideration, and I shall write the vowel of the (supposed) posterius *-otis* with *ō* because that is the vowel appropriate for the posterius. Also, though I believe that *pattis* is to be derived from *pad-sthis*: Skr. *pada-sthas* (see *AJPh.* 34, 39, § 95), I shall here consider it as derived from the root *et-*.

5. Sanskrit compounds of the type of *rathā-sáh-* 'curru-capax' (sc. equus) are believed to contain $\sim - \sim$ for $\sim \sim \sim$ (see Wackernagel *ai. Gram.* II. 1, § 56; cf. I. § 264 sq.), and it is current dogma to limit that lengthening to compounds of the type $\sim - \sim$ and exclude it from compounds of the type $\sim : - \sim$, words like Lith *ap-ėmis* 'circumference': *ap-ėmimas* 'umnehmen,' *κυν-ώπις* 'dog-eyed,' Av. *h<u>v-āpah-* 'bonum-sacrum-habens.' In words of this class (cf. Lat. *ambāges*) the long vowel is explained by $-$ gradation, which is to put the effect before the cause. Thus Av. *huv-āpah-* is equated with Skr. (*su-*) *āpas-*, there being in the RV. a hapax *āpas-* over against a fairly common word *apas-* 'sacrum,' quantitatively equal to Lat. *opus-*, in the word *operari*, which means 'sacrificare.' There is no way to make people believe, I suppose, that the long-grade vocalism of the *amb-āges* type arose by rhythmic lengthening in compounds, as long as they prefer to believe that a long-grade vocalism arose $-$ by long-grade vocalism and then found its place in compounds. For myself, I believe that Vedic *āpas-* is a sporadic use of an original composition-form with lengthened *ā-* to suit metrical convenience. In quadrisyllabic forms like Vedic *hari-sācas* and Av. *gairi-sāc-ō* the posterius comes from *sēkw-es* (n. pl.) 'sequentes.' Whether we call this type rhythmic ($\sim \sim \sim \sim$) or gradational is a matter of entire indifference when we extend the mere question of fact to the explanation of *padā-tis*, for the form **péd-ōti-s* is a perfectly legitimate construction from *ped-* (or *pod-*) + a derivative of the root *et-* 'errare,' and instead of a metrical lengthening we may reckon with weakening, and derive Skr. *pattis* from **ped(o)tí-s*.

6. In Homeric *ἀσπιδι-ώτης* 'in scuto iens' we have another military term

with posterius *-ōti-* (*-της*: Skr. *ti-*, cf. *δεσπότης*: Skr. *dām-pati-s*). The clear locative prius is also found in Homeric *ἀγροί-ώτης* 'in agro iens.' Any reason that may be urged against taking *pad-āti-s* for a compound may be urged as validly against Sophocles' *ποδ-ᾠγός* 'attendant':¹ Skr. *pad-āji-* (Pāṇini), as to which see Wackernagel, l.c. II. 1. 62. In view of what has been said I believe no consistent reason can be advanced against taking Skr. *pad-ātis* as a compound, precisely as Böhtlingk and Roth did take it. Besides, we have a second Greek military word in *στρατι-ώτης* 'soldier,' wherein I take the prius as a locative to a lost monosyllable *stgt-*, whence *στρατ-* in *στρατ-ᾠγός*. Besides the disyllable *-ōti-* in *pad-āti-* we have the root-noun *ot-* in Lat. *ped-et-* (Bartholomae's *ē* in *pedēs*, BB. 17, 114 fn., lacks, to the best of my knowledge, all metrical confirmation).

III. Lat. *equet-*: Skr. *ácva-pati-s*.

7. The addiction of scholars for more than half a century to the equation of *ἵππότης* with *eques* is most extraordinary. Thus *ἵππότης* is an abstract, your 'horseship'—which seems incredible—and *eque-t-* is an abstract too, with *-tā* (cf. *senecta*) reduced to *-t*. Now Ger. *majestät*, Ital. *podesta*, Eng. *your highness*, I understand; and *opera* (1) auxilium, (2) auxiliator, I understand, but 'your horseship'—no. So as Greek *δεσπότης* corresponds to Skr. *dām-pati-s* I feel constrained to believe that *ἵππότης* is from **ἵππό[πο]της* = Skr. *ácva-pati-s* 'horse-lord' (VS.), also a proper name, cf. *Ἴπποτα Νέστωρ*.

8. What would have become of proethnic **ékwo-potis* in Italic? In certain of the dialects, assuming a stage before any sort of syncope existed, **epo-potis*, liable to haplologic shortening precisely as *ἵππότης*. But in pre-Latin we should expect **equo-pot(i)s*, with possible loss of *i* as in *hospes*, if from **hosti-potis* rather than **hosti-pa*-t* 'stranger-protecting.' How would *qu- p-* in a Latin word have been treated? Certainly *p-qu-* was assimilated to *qu-qu-* (see e.g. Walde², s.v. *prope*). If *qu- p-* (bear in mind a *qu* that may have gotten quite close to the *p* of the other dialects) was also assimilated to *qu-qu-*, then *equet-* from **equo-[quo]t(i)s* is a simple case of haplology. What actually happened may have been quite different. As *anceps* is from *ambi+caput* and *hospes* from *hosti+potis* (or *-pots*), *eques* may represent something like **equ(o)-pot-s* (disyllable) with assimilation (eventual loss) of *p* after *qu* owing to the strong influence of *equos* 'horse.' Those who lay great weight on rigidity of equation symbols, formal regularity, will perhaps prefer to say that *eques* is for dialectic **epo[po]ti-s* affected by Latin *equos*.

IV. Latin *Cocles*.

9. The difficulty of accounting for *Cocles* as the borrowed word *Κύκλωψ* seems to me insurmountable, but the two words are most closely cognate. To correspond with *κύκλος*, Skr. *cakrá-m* 'wheel, circle,' we should expect

¹ Herein *ποδ-* is quasi-prepositional: Aeolic in attendance on a chariot. *πεδ-ά* 'cum'; cf. *pad-* in Skr. *pad-ratha-s* 'footman

Latin *quoglo-* whence *coclo-*, and this, compounded with the monosyllabic stem *ogu-*, represented in the diminutive *oculus*, would yield (with elision of the stem -o) *cocl'ðc-*. The change from *cocloc-* to *coclot-* was due to avoidance of three successive *c*'s.

V. Latin *poples* 'knee, hamstring,' etc.

10. I interpret *popl-et-* as dialectic from *cocl'et-*: *coclo-* 'wheel.' Etymologically considered, the wheel was merely a 'goer,' as we use 'runner'¹ to describe the sliding-iron of a sled. Latin *coclo-* designated, I take it, some part of the leg, and belongs semantically with Skr. *carāṇa-s* = *caritra-m* (see § 14) 'foot, leg.' Walde², s.v. *colo*, cites O.Bulg. *kolo* 'wheel': *kolěno* 'knee.' Here a special semantic closeness is shown by Ger. (*knie-*)*scheibe*, for the 'patella' or 'knee-pan' is a sort of disc or wheel. For the posterius of *popl-et* we must compare *κόλ-ηπ-* 'the popliteal space' = 'knie-kehle,' recalling that Prellwitz has already expressed the suspicion that -*ηπ-* belongs with Lat. *apere* 'to bind,' cf. Eng. *ham-string*, which is one sense of *poples*. This justifies us in deriving *poplet-* from *k^wek^wl'-ap* (or -*ap-*), whence, with dissimilation of the third *p*, dialectic *popl'et-*. The startform of *κόλληψ* may have been *k^(w)ōl(o) + ā^xp-*, with labial dissimilation of *k^w-* from the following *p-*. But the influence of *σκέλος* is not to be excluded.

VI. *κωλώτης* 'lizard': *lacerta*.

11. The lizard, if one will examine the habits of the commoner kinds, is a limb-goer, putting his whole leg rather than his foot only upon the ground. Hence he is named from *κῶλο-* 'leg' + *-ωτης* 'errans.' The same notandum in *ἀ-σκάλα-βος* = *ἐν-σκέλει-βαίνων*. By irradiation from *κωλώτης* we have *ἀ-σκαλα-βώτης* and *γαλεώτης*. Similarly I explain *lacer-ta* as syncopated (cf. *Minerva*, etc.) from an original *laces-* or *lacer-* 'leg, limb' [: O.Norse *leggr*, which Lidén (ap. Walde² s.v. *lacertus*) has derived from a pre-Germanic *lagiz-*; or: *λέκρα-να-τοὺς ἄγκωνας* (cf. *λικερ-τίζειν· σκιρτᾶν*)] + *eta* (as in *μ-ετά*, § 2) or *i-ta* 'iens,' the whole again = 'limb-going.' The prius *laces-* | *lacer-* would be a suffixless locative (cf. Brugmann, Gr². 2. 2 §§ 174-175 for parallels). For *lacertus* 'arm,' I write a startform *lacer[s]i(h)o-s* (for [s] see Fay *AJPh.* 33, p. 383; and for the confix -*sthos* in names of parts of the body, *ib.* 34, p. 23, § 58 sq.), first of the out-standing lump of muscles on the upper arm. Lat. -*ertus* may be, however, from *ῥτο-* (or *erio-*): Skr. -*ṛt* in *yákṛt-* 'liver.' Note that in the *lacertus* and *σκέλος* | *κῶλον* group a root *lěk* varies with *s)kěl-*.

VII. Sanskrit *ṛtvīk* (nom. sg.) 'sacerdos quidam.'

12. The final *k* is of palatal provenance, and should have given -*t*. Wackernagel, *ai. Gram.* I. 1, § 149 aa, remarks: 'Der guttural hielt sich hinter *ṛ* (auch in *ṛtvīk*!), weil die nachbarschaft von *ṛ-* laut und cerebral gescheut wurde.' This is a truly curious effect for *ṛ* to have at such a distance,

¹ Cf. *τροχός* 'wheel' = *τρέχει* 'runs.'

when in *rāt* and *saṃrāt* 'king,' *bhrāt* 'gleam,' *r-* has no effect. I rather think that in the sequence *t -k k* was the result of preventive dissimilation in avoidance of the group *-t -t*.

VIII. Avestan -*čarāt-* : κέλητ-.

13. Bartholomae defines the Avestan compound *ravas-čarāt-* by 'was sich im freien bewegt,' i.e. 'ruri-cola,' used in Ovid of an ox or a bull roaming at large (*Met.* 15, 124; 11, 91), as *ravas-čarāt-* is used of wild animals. The equation of -*čarāt-* with Greek κέλητ- 'riding horse' is perfect; both being from the startform *k^welēt-*, whence Greek κέλητ-, with *κ-* for *τ-* by preventive dissimilation. As to its derivation, κέλ-ητ- is a tautological compound, quasi 'wander-roaming,' with *ē* in the oblique cases (— — —) for the reason that *ā* is long in *padāti-* (§ 3). For tautological compounds of this type note should be made of the great variety of IE. verbs of motion, and for this particular compound of the fact that its separate elements were, as monosyllables, unstable (cf. Wackernagel, *ap. IF. Anz.* 24, 114). Skr. *āt-ya-s* 'horse' is also a compound, prius *et-*, posterius *-yó-s* (: the root *ei*).

IX. Sanskrit *car-itra-m*, *bhar-itra-m* ; θύρετρα 'foris.'

14. The usual division is *carī-tram*, but the conditions that allow of explaining *carī-tram* from *car-* allow as well of explaining **ītram* from *i-* 'ire,' and the complex *car-ītram* (cf. *car-itá-m* 'itio') as tautological. The tautological principle of composition (see Fay, *KZ.* 45, 112; *AJPh.* 32, 408) exists and always has existed. Note an example like Germ. *schell-hengst* or English *might-and-main*. Given an old Greek **ετ-πο-* 'door' (: *et-* 'errare' :: Lat. *iā-nu-a* 'door' [cf. Skr. *yā-na-s* 'via']: *yā-* 'ire'), *θύρ-ετρα* (Homer) becomes as transparent as *schell-hengst*. With *car-ītram* 'leg' cf. *bhar-itra-m* 'arm.' In both of these alike old *-i-tro-* 'goer, leg,' whence 'limb,' may be contained. Then *car-ītram* was the 'go-limb,' and *bhar-ītram* the 'carry-limb.' In Greek *φέρ-ετρον* 'bier' -*ετρον* will be still a 'goer,' but in the sense of 'vehiculum' or 'go-cart,' while *φέρ-* will indicate its use in carrying (cf. Eng. *carriage*). A collection of examples might show that the Greek words in *-ετρο-* parallel with Skr. words in *-itra-* all allow of explanation by irradiation from patterns in which the force of *-ετ-πο-* and *-i-tra-* is still clear to sight. Note also Skr. *car-iṣṇú-* 'se mouens, errans, instabilis' with *-iṣṇu-* : *iṣṇāti* 'accelerat.'

X. Sanskrit *divít-*, *divítmant-* : Latin *dīvit-*.

15. There are two competing definitions and analyses of *divít-*. Grassmann defines as 'splendour,' but the Petersburg lexicon, followed by Wackernagel (*ai. Gram.* 2, § 22a), as well as Ludwig and Griffith in their translations, analyze as *div-it-* 'ad caelum iens.' For Grassmann's definition cf. Aufrecht in *KZ.* 2, 149, and Grassmann himself *ibid.* 11, 9, though in his translation of *RV.* 10. 76. 6 (see below) he goes over to the other camp. In *BB.* 12, 114 fn.

Bartholomae takes *divít* as a noun, but does not define it. Aufrecht compared *divít-* for its formation with *harít*, a colour adjective = 'bright'—which does not keep the *-t-* of *divít-* from being the *t* of *dyút-* 'splendour.' In form *diví-t-* 'bright': *dī-divi-s* 'splendidus,' is not unlike *harít-t-*: *hari-s*; cf. for the reduplication *sarít-* 'flumen' (cf. Eng. 'current'): *sa-srí-s* 'currens': *sa-srú-t-* 'fluens,' with further examples in Brugmann, *Gr.*² 2. 1, § 316. The analysis as *div-tt-* leaves *div-* hard to account for as a terminus ad quem, at least Sanskrit exhibits no parallel case with a prius *div-* = 'ad caelum.'

16. The words *divít-* and *divítmant* are practically confined to *RV.*, and *divít-* is a hapax. The examples are:

1. 26. 2 (Arnold's A period) where Agni, invited to sit at the sacrifice, is addressed in the line 'Agne divítmatā vácaḥ' (= *vācasā*) and Grassmann's rendering by 'Agni durch unser glänzend lied' is certainly not less apt than Griffith's 'through our heavenly word.'

4. 31. 11 (Arnold's A), mahó rayé divítmate. Grassmann: 'zu glänzendem besitz des guts'; Griffith: 'for great celestial opulence.'

5. 79. 1 (Arnold's B¹), twice repeated in *SV.*, 'mahé no adyá bhodayaúṣo rāyé divítmatī.' Grassmann: 'zu grossem reichthum weck' uns heut, o morgenroth, zu glänzendem; Griffith: 'O heavenly dawn, awaken us to ample opulence to-day.'

10. 76. 6 (Arnold's B¹), *vācā divítā divítmatā*. Grassmann: 'mit schall der zu dem himmel dringt,' not substantially different from Griffith's 'with heavenly song that rushes up to heaven.' Aufrecht (l.s.c.) had taken *d. d.* as 'mit strahlendem glanze.' I deviate from Aufrecht by rendering the words *v. d. d.* 'uoce splendente splendidissima' (see below), though there is a possibility of taking *divítā d.* as a very early instance of an instrum. qual. = uoce splendore splendidissimo. For the construction see Speyer, *Skr. Synt.* § 67, where we have the examples *koṣaḥ svalpa-vyayena* = aerarium parui-expenso and *vividhāir drumāiḥ kānanam* 'uariis arboribus siluam' (see also Brugmann, *Gr.*² 2. 2. § 468; Delbrück, *Gr.*¹ 3. § 106). Thus interpreted *divítā divítmatā* is not unlike *hárítvatā várcasā* 'aureo splendore' (instrum. of means) in *RV.* 10. 112. 3. Morphologically the 'possessive' *hárítvant-* (hapax) would seem to be a mere irradiation from *divít-mant-* (with *m* in avoidance of the sequence *v-v*, cf. Schulze *KZ.* 39. 612; Bender, Suffixes *-mant* and *-vant*, p. 39).¹

17. But *divít-* is susceptible of defence as an adjective of the *harít-* type, while *divítmant-* 'splendidus' may be a blend, so to speak, of *divít-* 'splendens' with *dyu-mánt* 'splendorem habens' (cf. in Macdonnell's *Vedic Grammar* § 246 fn. on the intrusion of *d* from *ad-bhuta-* 'marvellous' into *an-ati* <*d*> *bhuta-* 'unsurpassed').

¹ Bender's remarks on the general analogy that may have produced *távasvant* from *tuvás* (p. 32 fn.) do not agree with his explanation of the accent of *hárítvant-* on p. 41, fn. 2, and **hárítvant-* were as permissible as *divítmant-*. It

may be as well to suppose that when nominalized in the possessive derivative a secondary accent of diacritic purport was given to the adj. stem *harít* (i.e. **hárít-* 'splendour').

18. In its usage *divítmant* once qualifies *rāyé* = Lat. *rei* (dat.) and once follows *rāyé*, but is in agreement with *uṣas* 'Aurora.' One wonders if here (5. 79. 1) *divítmatī*, instead of being a nom. voc. is a dative in *-ī*, cf. *ūtī* (frequent), *vūtī* (2°), see Macdonnell p. 232, a. Or is it a (masc.) dat.-loc. in *-ī* of the type described, but not yet conclusively found (see, however, O.Bulg. *i-* datives in Brugmann, *Gr.*² 2. 2. § 162. 1) by Bartholomae (*Gr. Iran. Phil.* 1. § 217)? It may rather be an emendation of the Vedic diaskeuast who, staggering at *rāy-é* (usually feminine) with a masc. adjective *divítmate*, and ignorant of *RV.* 4. 31. 11, altered to *divítmatī*, in construction with *uṣas*. The remaining instances of *divítmant* agree with *vācā* 'voce' or *vācas* 'Fétos' (see Delbrück in *KZ.* 20, 227). That the sense of 'splendidus' is here admissible ought to be clear from Latin combinations like *uox suavis et splendida*, *uerba splendida* (Cicero), cf. also *uerba luculentiora*, *scriptor luculentus* (Cicero), *oratio luculenta* (Sallust). That *divítmant* moves in the same semantic range as *dyu-mánt* (see § 17) is manifest, for we have *dyumánt-* with *rāyás* 'rei' (gen. 1°), with the cognate word *rayt-s* (3°), and with their synonyms *bhágas* (1°) and *śám* (1°); also with *vác-am* 'vocem' (2°) and with *vācas-* (1°).

19. In view of the characteristic combination of *dyumánt* | *divítmant-* with the words for 'wealth' (*rāy-* | *rayt-* : Lat. *rēs*)—cf. also the parallelism of the adverbially used neuters *revát* || *dyumát* in *RV.* 2. 9. 6; 5. 23. 4; 6. 48. 7 (in every case qualifying the imperative *dī-dī-hi* 'splende')—I find myself quite unwilling to follow Schulze in *KZ.* 45. 190 and divorce Lat. *dīuet-* 'rich,' *diuitiae* 'riches' (with adj. *luculentae* in Plautus, cf. also *luculenta* hereditas; in Cicero, *secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia*) from Vedic *divít-*. So far as the root goes, there is no issue to join with Schulze; but, in conformity with Skr. *divít-*, Lat. *dīvet-* must be explained from 'shining' and not from 'sky,' though if proethnic **dīwit-* had come into Latin with some of its original sense it may well have come under the influence of *diuum* (cf. *sub dio* 'under the bright sky' with *ἔν-διος* 'meridianus'). What came into Latin may have been *dīw-* (or *deiw-*)*et*, cf. *et* in *ἄργεῖτ-* 'white.'

XI. O.Bulg. *bogatŭ* 'Fortunatus.'

20. Nor can I admit Schulze's parallel instance, after Schroeder as cited, of O.Bulg. *bogatŭ* 'Fortunatus,' and formed morphologically like *Fortunā-tus*, but its prius is to be correlated with Av. *baγā-* 'pars, portio': Skr. *bhága-* 'share, wohlstand,' and the connotation of 'fortuna' or even 'diuitiae' is clear from the hapax compound *bhága-bhaktasya* (*rāyás*) = quasi 'fortuna-diuisae (rei),' cf. also *bhágavant* 'gut-begabt.' In Indo-Iranian *bhága* is the Dispenser (God), but also the dispensed ('wealth'). In O.Bulg. we have *bogu* 'god,' but when Schulze writes 'der arme heisst bei den Slaven "von den göttern verlassen"; *ubogŭ-* und *nebogŭ-*' we may admit that this is now the popular interpretation, but surely we must start with 'ἄμμοπος, ἄμοιπος,

expers' (as found, with some redundance, in Terence, *Heaut.* 652, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis). Rather is *bogatŕi* like Latin *nummātus*.

XII. Latin *gurg-et-* 'eddy.'

21. In this complex I define *gurg-* by 'swallowing,' a broken reduplication form, however we explain the abnormality of *g*, to the root of *uorat*. The combination *gurg-et-* meant 'swallow-going,' no bad description of an eddy for one who has seen the swirl and down-suck of it. The sense of 'eddy' is found in a derivative of *et*, precisely in the word *eddy*: O.Norse *ida*. The combination of the notions 'errare' and 'circulare' is found in Eng. *troll*: *stroll* (cf. Skeat or the Oxford Dictionary), and is as old as the time when the *planets* ('stellae errantes') were observed to go round the earth, or when a 'wheel' was a 'goer' (see § 10). It is a fact, or a superstition, of wood-craft that a man when lost always wanders round and round in a circle.

XIII. Sanskrit *senā-nī*: *κοίπα-vo*.

22. The correspondence of *senā-nī* 'general' with Germ. *her-zog* cannot have escaped the notice of anybody whose attention has once been drawn to *senā-nī*. Their Homeric synonym is *κοίπαυος*, and *-vos* = 'dux.' The correlation of *-vos*: Skr. *nī-* 'ducere' is the same as the correlation of *-çá-s* in *giri-çás* 'in monte cubans': *-çī-* in *syona-çī-s* 'in-molli-(lecto-) cubans.' The shortening of the *a* in *κοίπα-*: Germ. *heer* will have taken place as in *μοίπα*. Whether the shortening demonstrably took place before the composition is a question of chronology I know not how to determine.

XIV. Sanskrit *syoná-* 'soft': *εὐνή* 'bed.'

23. The aspirate in *καθ-εὐδω* 'I sleep' gives some warrant for supposing *εὐνή* to be for **εὐνή*: *syoná-* in the Sanskrit compound just cited. It is curious that the derivation of *syoná-* has not been hitherto realized. It will have meant 'pliant' to start with, and belong with *syūman-* 'band': the root *sīw-syū-* 'plectere' (earlier sense than 'suere'). In *-εὐ-δεω* the complex will have meant '(se) lecto dare,' and original **syēu-* may have been a locative to a noun stem **syu-*. In general, cf. *δέμνιον* 'bed, bedding': the root of Lat. *domare* 'binden' (earlier than 'bändiggen,' and also found in Lat. *domus*, the 'wattled house'). In *Wört. u. Sach.* 3. 52 sq. Meringer would unite Lat. *texit* 'weaves' with *τέκτων* 'carpenter' by defining their root as 'flectere,' and I think this is right. The sphere in which *syoná-* moves is seen in *syonā cāsi suṣadā* (*VS.*) which Bloomfield cites in *AJPh.* 33. 9 with a TB. variant. His rendering is 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat to rest on.'

XV. Vedic *kṛtād-vasu-* 'diuidens-bona.'

24. The Rigveda has *vidād-vasu* = 'inueniens-bona' four times (three times in Arnold's A hymns, once in his B²) and the hapax *ābharād-vasu-* 'afferens-bona'

(5. 79. 1), both perfectly clear compounds. The hapax *ṣatád-vasu-* (1. 119. 1 = B²) will certainly be for **ṣatá-vasu-*, as it follows another compound with *sahásra-* 'thousand.' For *kṛtád-vasu-* (8. 31. 9), it would seem that we might satisfy ourselves with the plain etymological interpretation of the pādas *ab : vīthotrā kṛtádvasū* (*ū* with the pāda-text) | *daṣasyántā 'mṛtāya kām* = <The household-pair> inviting-to-a-feast, cutting-goodies, bestowing <these> verily on the Immortal. With *-vasu* in the compound cf. *bon-bons* and *goodies*.

XVI. Vedic *pratád-vasū* (RV. 8. 13. 27).

25. In this stanza Indra is supplicated to yoke his sorrels, his boon-companions (*sadhamādyā*), his *pratádvasū* (dual) and rattle-along (*abhi-svara*) to the soma-drinking. In such a context we may credit the composer of the hymn, that ancient poet of wine, with looking upon the sorrels who are to fetch Indra to the convivium as sharing in the extraction or preparation of that boon. The word preparation brings us to ask whether *pratád* may have to do with Lat. *parare*, but its *-t-* would then have to be explained. The word extraction brings us to the root *pret-* as found in Lat. *pressi* (see Fay, KZ. 43, 351), and to Skr. *ṣṛt-* 'battle,' i.e. 'press' (of battle). Note also *ṣṛt-sutí-s* '(proeli) impetus,' where *-sutí-s* comes either from the root *su-* 'premere' or from *sū-* 'impel, hurl,' not certainly different roots. The assumption precedent is that the root *pret-* was used to describe the extraction of sap or milk by pressure (or by boring). Here, in using *pratád-*, the poet may have had in mind the spirting, splashing, spattering of the drops as the soma-stalks were a-crushing and the like spatter of mud by the racing horses. One asks oneself whether ultimately *pratád* is not 'dashing' (trans.), cognate with O.Norse *spretta* 'salire' (intrans.), cf. Eng. *sprints*. I assume here no violation of Grimm's law. In O.Norse *spretta tt* may have come from proethnic *-tn-* as well as from a prior Norse *sprenta*, and the fixation of *tt* in this or some like formation may have analytically influenced the *nt* group in the sept of *sprints*.

26. For the relation of Skr. *ṣṛt-* 'battle': Latin *prem-it*, pf. *pressit*, note Bartholomae's third definition (Wtbch. 869) of *parēt-* 'jemandem (acc.) feindlich entgegen, zu leibe gehen' (= Lat. *aliquem petere*), a sense not alien to Lat. *premit* 'presses, chases, pursues' (game, the enemy). Semantically, O.Norse *s)prettā* = 'salire,' Av. *parēt-* = 'insilire' (in the late Latin sense of 'adoriri'). Should we start with a compound *per-et-* 'praeire; adoriri'—or a tautological compound, with cumulative force, of the root *per-* 'to pierce, fare,' and the root *et-* 'to wander, run' (cf. on Latin *interpret-* § 34)—the sense of 'squeeze, press,' would have developed as a description of the concomitant or sequel action involved in 'piercing.'

XVII. Avestan *frātaṭ-ṣarəta-* 'pro-fluens, rapidus.'

27. Passing over Bartholomae's most complicated explanation as *frā-taṭṣarə-ta*, and holding to the traditional division as a compound, I would explain *frātaṭ-* as an adverbially used neuter of the present participle = prae-

currenter (from *pro*-+*et*- 'currere') combined with a *t*- derivative of the root ⁵*kar* (Bartholomae, 449) 'uersari,' viz.: *cārā-t*- (for so in three of the four citations we find the stem): *čar-āt*- (§ 13). Skr. *at*- is actually defined by 'laufen' (PW.).

XVIII. Πρωτεσί-λαος 'qui praecurrit populum.'

28. Every IE. name may be significant, a tell-tale name. The name of Protesilaos, if I have properly divined its meaning, tells us all about him that we learn from Homer, ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺν πρότιστον Ἀχαιῶν (B. 698 sq.). The quantity agreement of Πρωτεσί[-λαος] and Av. *frātaṭ*- raises the question whether *ā* represents an IE. contraction of *o*+*e*. There is very little evidence to settle this question (cf. Brugmann, *Gr.*² I. § 964), and it would require compounds that had lost touch with their primitives to remove the suspicion that the junction vowel owed its colour to the semantic, not the phonetic, preponderance of whichever vowel prevailed. In Πρωτεσί-, though compounded of *pro*+*eteti*, *ω* may be due to *πρῶτος* 'first' (? from *pro*+*ōtos* 'goer'; then Doric *πρᾶτος* has secondary *ā*, cf. the adverb *πρᾶν* and Latin *prā-nos* 'forward, pert).'

XIX. Vedic *ānv-āitat* (A V. 18. 3. 40) 'consecutus est.'

29. This is a blend of *āit*, impf. 3d. sg. of the root *i*- 'ire' and *ālat*, the corresponding form from the root *at*- 'errare, currere.' For the previous discussion of the form see Lanman's note to Whitney's A V. (Harv. Or. Series, 8. 860).

XX. Avestan *pataṛəta*- (— — —) 'flying.'

30. This, like Lat. *lacerta* (§ 11), is from a compound *pa^{ta}ta^r-eta* (or *-ita*) = 'in-pennā-iens.' Under what proethnic or pre-Avestan conditions the quadrisyllable (— — — —) was reduced to a trisyllable (— — —) cannot be made out.

XXI. ἡτορ 'heart': Skr. *āt-mān*- 'breath.'

31. These words and their cognates (see e.g. Prellwitz², s.vv. ἡτορ and ἄτμος) may be reasonably derived from the root *et*-. The heart, bosom, lungs, stomach (abdomen) are all in perpetual motion, a fact much more in ocular evidence in early savagery than now. According to Fick-Stokes⁴, p. 29, O.Ir. *in-athar* is from *én-ōtoro*-. This would mean the 'in-goer.'

XXII. Old Welsh *-interedou*.

32. The compound *permed-interedou* (glossed by 'ilia') will have come, in its posterius, from *enter*<->*eto*- (Fick-Stokes⁴, p. 30). Is *-eto*- itself a posterius = 'iens,' and the whole a newer, but still IE., formation to make more precise *en-tero*- (in *έν-τερον*) after *-tero*- was losing its force of 'going' (see Fay, *AJPh.* 31, 407)? The *ā* of Skr. *āntrá*- will be secondary.

XXIII. Sanskrit *kṛ-t-van-* 'machend, bewirkend.'

33. I have recently noted (*AJPh.* 34. 16, § 44 fn.) that the agent suffix *-ter-* (cf. for its origin Prellwitz², s.v. *τείρω*) gives evidence in such derivatives as Lat. *cul-tūr-a nātūra* of a by-form *-ter-* | *-tor-* 'faciens': O.Bulg. *tvoriti* 'facere.' If we had Skr. *kṛ-tvar-* it would be tautological, quasi 'make-maker,' and *kṛ-tvan-* may have replaced the start-form **kṛtwor-* with *ṛ-* -*n* for *ṛ-* -*r*, cf. the normal feminine *kṛ-tvarī-* 'magical,' noting that *po-tvorī* means 'magic' (cf. Jevons in *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 98). The different treatment of *kṛtvan-* and *kṛtvarī-* would be due to syllabification. Any root with *r* would present the conditions for dissimilation. The dissimilation was doubtless proethnic, for the feminine variation is found in the type of *πίων* fem. *πίερα*, where the *-tven* | *-twerī* type had been imitated by the *-wen-* type. Perhaps in a word like Skr. *ṛk-van-* we have the reduction of **ṛk-tvar-* = 'carmen-faciens,' but a syncretic origin for *-w-en-* is also to be admitted.

XXIV. *ἄτμην* 'interpres, nuntius.'

34. It is now (see Herwerden's *Lex Suppl.* s.v.) not open to reasonable doubt that *ἄτμην* is a genuine word. We may take its *ἄ-* for an *ᾶ-*, a reduced stage of a long grade word in *ēt-*, cf. Prellwitz² s.v. *ἄτμός* 'vapour.' An *ἄτμην* was, in our modern parlance, a 'runner,' as was an *inter-pr-et-* (on *pr-et-* see Fay, *Cl. Quart.* 3. 272).

XXV. Homeric *ἐπητής* 'entgegen-kommend, sociable.'

35. As a concluding testimony for the root *et* 'errare, currere, ire,' so often mentioned above, I cite *ἐπητής* with its abstract *ἐπητύς*. The sense of *ἐπ-ητες-* (with protracted *ē* as in § 5) is roughly 'approachable, accessible,' terms denoting a passive sort of friendliness. But the original sense (see on active-passive reciprocals Fay in *IF.* 29, 418) was rather active = 'approaching, sociable, entgegenkommend.' Comparable formations are Skr. *vī-vācas-* 'variously speaking,' *sā-vācas-* 'similarly speaking.' The accent of the Greek words is secondary, say after the synonymous pair *ᾠαριστής* (= *apud socium stans*, see Fay, *AJPh.* 34. 33) *ᾠαριστός*.

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SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

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Emory B. Lease, *Neve and neque with the Imperative and Subjunctive*. Summarizes with statistics the usage of these particles to express prohibitions in the prose and verse literature. Rarer varieties, *et ne*, *ac ne*, etc., are also dealt with. Roy C. Flickinger, *The Accusative of Exclamation in Epistolary Latin*. C. F. W. Müller's canon, that *o* must be inserted in Cicero's letters to Atticus with names of things, is disproved. The idiom (*o* continually gaining) becomes more rigid as we move from Plautus to Pliny. H. C. Hoskier, *The Lost Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*. Roland G. Kent, *Again Lucilius on EI and I*. A reply to Fay. Tenney Frank, *Marginalia* (a) Hor. *Epod.* 2. 26 (*queruntur* of birds means 'sing'; (b) Cic. *ad Att.* VII 2. 7; (c) Livy ap. Sen. *Suas.* VI 22; (d) Ennius *Med.* 259-61 (V.); (e) Cic. *Verr.* IV 163 (would read *aequabiliter* for *aequaliter*). Charles Knapp, *De quibusdam locis primi Horati Sermonis*. Reviews: Drerup's *Iliad* V (W. K. Prentice), Mooney's *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (E. Fitch).

Athenaeum (Pavia). Vol. I., Part IV. 1913.

A. Calderini, *The Epigrammi Cyzici in relation to tragedy*. C. agrees substantially with Meyer of Königsberg that the Epigrams were written by a scholar in the fifth or sixth century A.D., describing certain bas-reliefs on the temple of Apollo at Cyzicus II Cent. B.C.), the subjects for which were suggested by a pre-Alexandrine 'manual,' drawing on Greek tragedies. The *Epigrammi* are valuable for the reconstruction of lost tragedies. Carlo Pascal, *Ennius in the Middle Ages*. Ennius was famed as scientist and poet, but no one later than Isidorus had any direct knowledge of him, and Cicero and Claudius were taken for the authority on his merits. M. Valgimigli gives notes on various passages in the recently discovered Satyric drama of Sophocles, discusses the question whether the coryphaeus and Silenus are identical personages in the drama, and quotes certain passages where the Chorus and Silenus seem to be acting or speaking independently. J. Procacci, *Short notes on some passages of the Panegyrici Latini*. P. comments on emendations by W. Baehrens and others, and adds some of his own. V. Constanzi, *Zeus Thaulios*. Near Pharsalus an altar was found inscribed Διος θαυλιου, an epithet only found in two other inscriptions. Hesychius' lexicon gives Θαῦμος ἢ θαῦλος as a designation of Ares among the Macedonians. Constanzi discusses the views of Hoffmann and others, and considers that the forms with θαυλ- are Atticized out of Macedonian *Δαυλος just as Hesychius gives us ξανθικά, ξανθῶ = Maced. ξανδικά, ξανδῶ. He accepts Solmsen's view placing Thessalian θαυλ-, Macedonian δαυλ- alongside of the Phrygian-Lydian κανδανλας = κυνάγχα, and Phryg.-Lyd. δάος, 'the wolf' as 'strangler,' and θαύλων given as the βουφόνος among the Athenians. *Θαυλος among the Macedonians, meaning 'slayer,' or even being the wolf himself, was then attached to Ares, thus taking us back to the ages of theriomorphism and of the common home of a race still undivided, dwelling in the valley of the Axios or Aliacmon.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1913.

Aug. 2. O. Viedebanct, *Quaestiones Epiphaniae metrologicae et criticae* (Tittel). Throws some new light on ancient weights and measures. J. Paulson, *Index Lucretianus* (Kraemer). Trustworthy. H. Kiepert et Ch. Huelsen, *Formae urbis Romae Antiquae* (Graffunder). In the new edition one 'Hauptkarte' and four 'Nebenkarten' have been added.

Aug. 9. A. Maidhof, *Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Koine besonders auf Grund des Attizisten Moiris* (Schwyzer). A. Ritzefeld, *Procli Diadochi Lycii Institutio physica*, ed. A. R. (Tittel). With German translation, Latin preface and notes, and an index of the more important words. E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae* (Riewald). 39 pp. + 50 'Tafeln' (small folio) of photographs of inscriptions in chronological order from the *lapis Romuli* onward. A. Philippson, *Topographische Karte des westlichen Kleinasien*. Lief. 2 and 3. (H. v. Gaertringen). Much praised.

Aug. 16. E. Diehl, *Supplementum Sophocleum*, ed. E. D. (Bucherer). One of Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*. Contains the *Ἰχνευταί* and other fragments (all that have been discovered since Nauck). (1) C. Clementi, *Pervigilium Veneris*, ed. by C. C. (2) *Pervigilium Veneris*, Oxford Plain Text (Hosius). J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law* (Beseler). An admirable introduction to the subject. A. Struck, *Zur Landeskunde von Griechenland* (Gerland). The author had unusual knowledge of the country. E. Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* (Niedermann). The sketch of Vulgar Latin highly praised.

Aug. 23. C. Pascal, *Le credenze d'oltretomba nelle opere letterarie dell' antichità classica* (Gruppe). Th. Meyer-Steineg, *Chirurgische Instrumente des Altertums* (Schoenack). Highly praised. Forms a valuable supplement to J. S. Milne's 'Surgical instruments in Greek and Roman times.' O. Schrader, *Die Anschauungen V. Hehns von der Herkunft unserer Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere im Lichte neuerer Forschung* (Keller). Corrects Hehn in many ways.—This number includes a communication from W. Aly as to a *Thesaurus Dialecti Ionicae*. He has nearly ready for use the MS of a complete Index to Herodotus. This will be placed in the Library of the University of Freiburg i. Br., where it may be consulted. He proposes to add to this gradually a record of the vocabulary of other Ionic writings (including the Ionic elements in tragedy and in Attic prose of the fifth century) and ultimately to publish.

Aug. 30. H. Gomperz [son of Th. Gomperz], *Sophistik und Rhetorik* (W. Nestle). N. disagrees for the most part with G.'s conclusions. W. M. Fl. Petrie, *The formation of the alphabet* (Larfeld). Unfavourable.

Sept. 6. Max C. P. Schmidt, *Die Entstehung der antiken Wasseruhr*. Mit 12 Tafeln (Tittel). A useful collection of material. I. van Wageningen, *Atuli Persi Flacci satirae*, ed. atque prolegomenis, interpretatione Belgica, commentario instruxit I. v. W. (Hosius). Favourable. J. Wackernagel, *Über einige antike Anredeformen* (Wahrmann). On the vocatives *θεός*, *deus*, *ἀνερ*, *populus*, etc.

Sept. 13. Haupt-Vahlen, *Catulli Tibulli Propertii carmina*. Ed. VII. a Rud. Helmio edita (Magnus). Vahlen left the book ready for the press. W. Havers, *Untersuchungen zur Kasus-syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Hermann). One of the series edited by Brugmann and Thumb. A study of what the author calls the 'Dativus sympatheticus' (e.g. *ἀνθρώποις ἰσθαι νόσους*) in many idg. languages.

Sept. 20. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Pt. 5 (Gruppe). P. Persson, *Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung* (Ehrlich). 'Learned, penetrating and stimulating.' Part 1, *Wortklärungen*, pp. 1-549. Part 2, *Zur Frage nach den sogenannten Wurzel-determinativen*, pp. 553-913. For the study of semantics see the 'Sachregister' under *Bedeutungswechsel*, pp. 968-990. J. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language* (Hermann). 'On the whole successful in putting together the results of recent investigation.'

Sept. 27. H. Blümner, *Karte von Griechenland zur Zeit des Pausanias sowie in der*

Gegenwart (Schenkl). Supplements the edition of Pausanias by Bl. and Hitzig. M. Pohlenz, *De Ovidi carminibus amatoriiis* (Th. Birt). P. discusses at length the chronology of Ovid's works down to A.D. 2. [The discussion is continued Nov. 22.]

Oct 4. R. C. Kukula, *C. Plini libri epistularum etc.*, rec. R. C. K. (Baehrens). This, the second, edition marks an advance, but the treatment of the Letters is better than that of the Panegyricus. G. Cardinali, *Studi Graccani* (Bardt). A full statement as to the sources etc. of the history of the Gracchi.

Oct. 11. J. Middendorf, *Elegiae in Maecenatem commentario grammatico instructae adiuncta quaestione chronologica* (Helm). The author assigns these poems and the *Consolatio ad Liviam* to the time of Seneca not that of Augustus. H. Dragendorff, *Westdeutschland zur Römerzeit* (Anthes). An excellent summary.

Oct. 18. L. Weniger, *Der Schild des Achilles*. I. Text mit einer verkleinerten Tafel. II. Tafel in wirklicher Grösse (Brueckner). A good attempt to represent the shield. W. Sternkopf, *Cicero Phil.* 3-6 (Ammon). A continuation of Halm's edition in Weidmann's series. Excellent. [W. S. has since published *Phil.* 7-10.] H. v. Fritze, *Die Elektronprägung von Kyzikos*. [Nomisma. VII] (Weil).

Oct. 25. H. Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History* (Peter). Praised. A valuable collection of illustrations. *Mélanges P. F. Girard* (Beseler). Forty-eight papers on Roman law by various writers dedicated to Professor Girard.

Nov. 1. K. Hildebrandt, *Platons Gastmahl, neu übertragen und eingeleitet* (Pavlu). The Introduction (of which a summary is given) is original and valuable. O. Apelt, *Platons Dialog Philebos*, übersetzt und erläutert (Pavlu). H. Sjögren, *M. Tullii Ciceronis ad Q. fratrem epistularum libri tres*, rec. H.S. (Klotz). The edition is based on the views set forth in the author's *Commentationes Tullianae* [Cp. *Class. Rev.* xxv, 1911, pp. 149 sqq.]. S. has given us a much better text. Th. Ladewig and others, *Vergil Aen.* I-VI (Tolkiehn). A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde* (Stengel). Second edition with 'Nachträge,' 14 pp., by R. Wünsch. I. Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, I (Blümner). Classical antiquity fully treated in 378 pp.; good indices. L. Mauceri, *Il castello Eurialo* (Hude). Reconstruction of the fort built by Dionysius in 402 B.C.

Nov. 8. C. Blinkenberg, *La Chronique du Temple Lindien* (Hiller v. Gaertringen). Editio princeps of the inscription (found in 1904) including lists of gifts to Athena Lindia. R. Beer, *Monumenta palaeographica Vindobonensia*, hrsg. von R. B., Lief. 2 (Weinberger). [The first Part is noticed in Year's Work '1912, p. 125.] This part also contains excellent reproductions of MSS. and notes. U. Ph. Boissvain, *Beschreibung der griech. Münzen zu Amsterdam* (Regling). Follows the arrangement of the London and of Macdonald's Glasgow catalogues. W. Crönert contributes an interesting paper 'Zum griech. Thesaurus.'

Nov. 15. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Poetics of Aristotle* (Crönert). Very valuable for the text. Th. Meyer-Steineg, *Darstellungen normaler und krankhaft veränderter Körperteile an antiken Weihgaben*. 4 Tafeln (Schonack). The illustrations show 'Exvotos' from Cos. Valuable for the study of ancient medicine.

Nov. 22. B. Kuster, *De tribus carminibus papyri Parisinae magicae* (Preisendanz). Useful. I. Nye, *Sentence connection illustrated chiefly from Livy* (Klotz). A careful study. H. F. Soveri, *De ludorum memoria praecipue Tertullianea capita selecta* (Bitschowsky). A thorough piece of work. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* II. 2 : *Vom Tode des Augustus bis zur Regierung Hadrians* (Helm). The third edition rewritten and enlarged from 425 to 601 pp. Shows remarkably wide knowledge of recent writing and independent judgment. F. Baumgarten, F. Poland, R. Wagner, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur. Mit 440 Abbildungen im Text, 11 Tafeln, 4 Karten* (Zielinski). The book brings together and interprets the recent work of many specialists (on papyri, excavations, etc.). The third edition, enlarged and brought up to date, of *Die hellenische Kultur* by the same authors is also favourably reviewed.

Classical Weekly (New York). 1913.

Oct. 4. E. Post, *Selected Epigrams of Martial* (W. B. McDaniel). The notes are 'terse, clear, and interesting.'

Nov. 1. Lane Cooper, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* (J. R. Wheeler). 'The many illustrations taken from English authors are likely to be valuable to students of the Classics.'

Nov. 15. L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*. Authorized translation of the 7th ed. Vol. IV., Appendices and Notes. By A. B. Gough (J. C. Rolfe). 'The value of this work is very greatly increased by the addition of this volume which is in itself a useful book of reference.'

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1913.

Aug. 16. C. E. Gleye, *Die Moskauer Sammlung mittelgriechischer Sprichwörter* (P. N. Papageorgiu). J. van Leeuwen I. F., *Ilias I-XII* (F. Stürmer). Maintains the unity and beauty of both Iliad and Odyssey.

Aug. 23. O. Apelt, *Platonische Aufsätze* (W. Moog). Pleasing and stimulating. F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (G. Plau-mann). E. Engström, *Carmina latina epigraphica* (E. Diehl). A supplement to Buecheler's collection. G. Rotondi, *Leges publicae populi Romani* (J. Friedrich). Wonderfully complete and accurate.

Aug. 30. F. Blass, *Bacchylidis carmina*. Ed. IV. curavit G. Suess (P. Maas). Open to criticism. L. Meister, *Quaestiones Tullianae ad libros qui inscribuntur de oratore pertinentes* (G. Ammon). Pays attention to rhythm as evidence for the text.

Sept. 6. O. Immisch, *Der erste platonische Brief* (C. Ritter). Rightly explains the letter as from the Spartan Dexippus to Dionysius I, when becoming a tyrant. T. Rice Holmes, *Cäsar's Feldzüge in Gallien und Britannien*. Translations by W. Schott and F. Rosenberg (R. Grosse). The translation is excellent. In the books the early influence of Massilia is insufficiently recognized; the Massiliots, not the Phoenicians, were probably the first to sail the North Sea and discover Britain. The numbers of Caesar's troops are usually understated.

Sept. 13. E. Kapp, *Über das Verhältnis der eudemischen zur nikomachischen Ethik des Aristoteles* (P. von der Mühl). Shows that the conception of the Eudemian ethics is earlier. B. Stech, *Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum* (K. Hönn). Carefully compiled, and indicates incidentally the rapid decay of the patrician families.

Sept. 20. H. Th. Peck, *A History of Classical Philology* from the seventh century B.C. to the twentieth century A.D. (B. A. Müller). In spite of many errors a book of importance, connecting its subject in each century with the spirit of the age. A. Müller, *Ästhetischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien der Sophokles*. 2 Aufl. (H. Klammer). A distinct advance on the first edition.

Sept. 27. W. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (H. Blümner).

Oct. 4. Fr. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* 1, 2. (G. Plau-mann). E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (T. Schmidt). An indispensable handbook of South Russian archaeology, the result of indefatigable labour.

Oct. 11. F. Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* (A. Abt). On the basis of inscriptions shows the rise of heroes to gods and of private cult to state-cult.

Oct. 18. W. Schick, *Favorin περὶ παιδων τροφῆς* (J. Ilberg). Traces the diatribe in Gellius xii. 1 to Chrysippus' tract περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς, with amplification of the medical aspect. J. T. Allardice and E. A. Junks, *An Index of the Adverbs of Plautus* (G. Landgraf). A useful collection by two pupils of Professor Lindsay.

Oct. 25. P. Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaemonier* (Hiller v. Gaertringen).

Nov. 1. H. Lommel, *Studien über indogermanische Femininbildungen* (A. Debrun-

ner). H. Ehrlich, *Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung* (E. Hermann). The book is minutely examined.

Nov. 8. H. Spiess, *Menschenart und Heldentum in Homer's Ilias* (F. Stürmer). Valuable to teachers. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis opera* ed. H. R. (K. Münschner).

Nov. 15. G. Heinzemann, *Animismus und Religion* (C. Clemen).

Nov. 22. W. Köhler, *Die Versbrechung bei den griechischen Tragikern* (K. Listmann).

Nov. 29. E. Kalinka, *Die pseudoxenophontische Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (R. v. Pöhlmann). Contains introduction and translation, with the suggestion that the work was originally a speech delivered at the symposium of an Hetairia. W. M. Lindsay, *S. Pompei Festi De verborum significatu cum Pauli Epitome*, ed. W. M. L. (A. E. Anspach). Cautious, sometimes too cautious.

Dec. 6. J. de Decker, *Juvenalis declamans* (K. v. Morawski). Traces the influence of rhetorical schooling on J., but exaggerates his ignorance of philosophy. J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law* (L. Wenger).

Hermathena. 1913.

L. C. Purser, *Two recent Translations of the Apollonius of Philostratus*. Reviews the translations of F. C. Conybeare (Loeb Classical Library, 1912) and J. S. Phillimore (Oxford, 1912). To a favourable review he adds many corrections and criticisms on particular passages. M. T. Smiley, *The Quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius*. Argues for the continuity of verses 105-113 of Call. *Hymn to Apollo* with the preceding lines, explains verse 106 as a condensation of Anth. Pal. xl. 275, identifies the 'Assyrian river' as Halys or Iris, and discusses the quarrel in the light of Call. *Hymn to Apollo* 105-113. W. A. Goligher, in a favourable review of G. M. Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation* (Austin, Texas, 1913), discusses various problems connected with ostracism. J. I. Beare, *The Phaedrus; Its structure; the ἔπος theme; Notes*. Discusses the question, 'why did Plato select ἔπος as a text for a homily on the moral virtues?' He subjoins a number of notes on the *Phaedrus*. W. H. Porter, *The Euripidean Rhesus in the Light of recent Criticism*. Discusses (1) the sources of the plot of the play; (2) its authenticity. J. P. Postgate, *The Latin Verbal in -bilis*. (1) Classifies and illustrates the uses of the suffix; (2) discusses its origin; (3) considers the meaning of *curabilis* (Juv. 16. 21) and *placabilis* (Virg. *Aen.* 7. 764).

Hermes. Vol. 48. Part 4. 1913.

E. Lattes, *Per l'interpretazione del testo Etrusco di Agram*. B. Keil, *Über Lukians Phalarideen*. Φάλαρις β' 10-13 are six excerpts from a third speech by Lucian on Phalaris. Φάλαρις β' and this mutilated speech (γ') are to be regarded as parallel speeches developing the situation created in Φάλαρις α'. G. Thiele, *Plautusstudien*, I. Stoffprobleme des *Rudens*. A. Klotz, *Die Epitoma des Livius*. It has been assumed that a very early Epitome of Livy lies behind the *Periochae*, and authors, e.g. Valerius Maximus, who use Livy. Klotz argues that all such late works are based on a collection of rhetorical *Exempla*. Contains a good discussion of the methods of ancient Epitomators. P. Friedländer, 'Υποθήκαι, deals (1) with the higher criticism of Hesiod and Theognis; (2) with the evidence for a gnomic work by Democritus entitled ὑποθήκαι. Miscellen. F. Münzer, *Zu dem Nachruf des Tacitus auf Arminius*, and R. Reitzenstein, *Übersehenes*. These notes contain additions or corrections to R.'s article in vol. XLVIII. p. 268. Von Fleschenberg (1) *Die Einteilung der Ἱστορία bei Asklepiades Myrleanos*. (2) *Eine γνώμη in den Metamorphosen des Apuleius*. K. Hubert, *Der Bau der Ciceronischen Rede pro M. Tullio*. P. Stengel, *Sakrales*.

Journal of Philology. Vol. 33. No. 65. 1913.

A. Platt, *On Apollonius Rhodius*. Critical comments on Mooney's edition of the *Argonautica*. Notes on i. 936 that νῆσος may mean 'peninsula' in Greek poetry; in ii. 368 λευκῆσι δίναις inquires whether the water of the Iris is 'chalky'; on iii. 158 suggests that the picture given follows Aristotle, and is of two mountains in the far east, one to the north the other to the south of the morning, holding up the sky for the sun to pass between: iv. 786 indicates an earlier sketch of the poem in which the course of the Argonauts was different. A. E. Housman, *aios and eios in Latin poetry*. Finding in Greek a general rule that adjectives derived from feminine proper nouns of the first declension end in -aios, and those from masculines of this declension and from words of the second and third declensions end in -eios, proposes that we should read accordingly -aeus or -eus in Latin poetry. On such a point manuscript evidence has little value. I. Bywater, *Latinizations of the Modern Surname*. Illustrates the varieties of the Latinized names of scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and points out the undesirability and uncertainty of attempts to restore the supposed originals. W. R. Hardie, *Notes on Manilius* iv. 590 and *Lucretius* v. 1009, 1010. E. G. Hardy, *The Transpadani and the colony of Novum Comum*. Suggests that Caesar in 59 B.C. established a Roman colony there for the protection of the frontier, and that Marcellus in 51 B.C. disregarded this as a protest against the legality of laws passed in Caesar's consulship. Caesar's answer was the *lex Roscia* of 49 B.C. A. S. F. Gow, *Τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεχνολογίου*. Archaeological evidence shows that the poem is not by Theocritus. J. F. Duff, *Three passages in Cicero's Letters*. H. Jackson, *An oracle in Procopius*.

Mnemosyne. 41. 4.

J. J. Hartman, *Ad Plutarchi moralia annotationes criticae*. Notes on text and general introduction to the *De Iside et Osiride*, *de E. Delphico*, *de Pythiae oraculo* and *de defectu oraculorum*. P. J. Enk, *Vergiliana*, defends the seeming digression *Aen.* i. 441 sqq.: explains origin of fable of mensae paniceae in *Aen.* vii. 107 sqq. as due to ancient play on double meaning of mensa, as table and pancake (libum). A. Kurfess, *Varia*. Notes on text of *Tib.* i. 3. 4; iii. 14. 6 (=iv. 9. 6); iii. 15. 2 (=iv. 9. 2). *Sall. Catil.* xxxvii. 5. *Auson.* p. 116. 8. Peifer. (read semota for sine metu). J. J. Hartman, *Ad Herodoti* I. 11. would cut out τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θηησόμενον and ὅθεν περ . . . γυμνὴν as glosses. A. Poutsma, *De Repetitionis genere quodam*. A valuable collection of repetitions of words in Greek and Roman authors. J. W. Beck, *Varia*: on text of *Prop.* ii. 12. 13 sqq. (read si puer es tu alio traice bella tua). *Tacit. Ann.* xii. 49., *Tib.* i. 4. 41-44 (read uenturam mittat). J. C. Naber, *Observatiunculae de iure Romano*, Part 2. Further discussion of property processes in early Germanic law. To be continued. J. W. Beck, *De nova Horatii Carmen* iv. 8. *interpretandi via*: the poem is not composed in stanzas but follows rhetorical divisions and grouping of subjects.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. XXXI. 8. 1913.

K. Ziegler, *Menschen- und Weltenwerden*. From a long discussion of Aristophanes' comic anthropogony in Plato's *Symposion*, its relations to Anaximandros and Empedocles, to the story of the making of man and woman in *Genesis*, and to the cosmogonies of Greek myth and of Orphism, Z. deduces an otherwise unknown Orphic Anthropogony, itself derived from Babylon. B. Schmidt, *Der böse Blick und ähnlicher Zauber im neugriechischen Volksglauben*, touches on several points of ancient Greek superstition and folklore—e.g., the gesture σῦκον and A. B. Cook's derivation of συκοφάντης.

XXI. 9. 1913.

A. Gercke, *Themistokles' List*. A sceptical review of the anecdotes about Th., especially his two messages to Xerxes. E. Maass, *Äschylus und Aristophanes*. A study of stories of rejuvenation, with special reference to Aeschylus' Τροφοί and Aristophanes' *Knights*. E. Norden, *Josephus und Tacitus über Jesus Christus und eine messianische Prophetie*. A searching criticism, in answer to Harnack, of the passage about Jesus in Jos. *Arch.* xviii., and of the view that Tac. drew on Jos. for his passages about Jews and Christians. N. thinks that the prophecy in Tac. *Hist.* v. 13 came to him from the Antonius Iulianus whose *de Iudaeis* is mentioned by Minucius Felix. H. Philipp, review of U. Kahrstedt's *Geschichte der Karthager von 218-146* (vol. iii. of O. Meltzer's *G. d. K.*). J. Ilberg, review of M. Wellmann's *A. Cornelius Celsus, eine Quellenuntersuchung*.

XXXI. 10. 1913.

W. W. Jaeger, *Das Ziel des Lebens in der griechischen Ethik von der Sophistik bis Aristoteles*. On the Platonic σκοπός, its antecedents, and its relations to the Aristotelian τέλος. H. Blümner, review of L. Weniger's *Der Schild des Achilles* (a discussion of the questions involved, with a plate showing a tentative reconstruction of the shield).

Philologus. LXXII. Heft 2. 1913.

W. F. Otto, *Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien*. Contests the view put forward by Deubner and adopted by Wissowa, that *luperci* = 'those who keep off wolves.' The older interpretation (= simply 'wolves') is correct. Latin parallels for the form are *noverca*, etc. The Lupercalia examined and explained as a ceremony of lustration. E. V. Druffel, *Papyrologisches*. (1) Heidelberg Papyrus duplicates of Pap. Grenf. I. 11. (2) Explanation of passage in Pap. Tor. 1. H. Rubenbauer, *Der Bau des trochäischen Tetrameters in der neueren Komödie*. Gives full statistics. L. Gurlitt, *Plautinische Studien*. The 'double entente' in certain love-scenes of Plautus (cf. *asta* = *hasta* = *phallus*, etc.). F. Görres, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Licinius*. (1) Licinius did not take part in the persecutions 302-305 A.D. (2) Licinius and the second persecution. W. A. Baehrens, *Propertiana*. Defends, inter alia, IV. 3. 34 *suos*, IV. 11. 37-40 *et . . . quique*, I. 8. 25 *Atraciis*. Suggests transpositions. J. Brummer, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der sogenannten Donat-Vita des Vergil*. Discusses the Lives in Monacensis 15514, Sanblasianus 86, and in Gudianus fol. No. 70, besides the Life as preserved by the main tradition. S. Brassloff, *Beiträge zum Juristenlatein*. 'Quando' in causal sense, etc. A. Zimmermann, *Randglossen*. (1) *πλευρά*—*costa* = 'wife.' (2) *Tecusa* = 'mother.' (3) *Pellex* = *πάλλαξ* = *Παλλάς*? A. Laudien, *Zu Ilias A 50 f.* A modern parallel. J. Miller, *Nochmals die 16 Epode des Horaz*. Disputes the view of Kukula (Römische Säkularpoesie). G. A. Gerhard, *Zur Priesterliste des ptolemäischen Urkundenprotokolls*. A correction in the demotic, which confirms the Greek.

Revue des Études grecques. XXVI. No. 117.

H. Jeanmaire, *The Lacedaemonian Cryptia*. Rejects the modern view that this was a mere preparation for military life, and shows that far from being an anomaly, it is bound up with the Spartan system. By the comparative method shows that the Cryptia is the last phase of the Lacedaemonian initiation, that in which the youth is obliged to undertake a 'retreat' prior to the accomplishment of the final rites. A. Plassart, *The Athenian Archers*. An interesting article of over 50 pp. investigating the origin and history of this institution, with numerous illustrations showing the evidence of the vases. Georges Seure, *The Thracian images of Zeus Keraunos*. The author concludes that Zamolxis, etc., are not the real names of the Thracian god. They are only epithets of a deity of whose real name we are ignorant. O. Rayet, *The Greek Islands*. Some notes of personal experience and travel.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. XLVIII. 4. 1913.

H. Kallenberg, "Ὅτι und ὥς bei Plato als Hilfsmittel zur Bestimmung der Zeitfolge seiner Schriften. Evidence for order of dialogues from turns of phrase and form to avoid hiatus, as ὥς for more usual ὅτι in cases where a vowel follows. A. Klotz, *Zur Kritik einiger ciceronischer Reden*. Notes on MSS. of *Cum senatui gratias egit*, *Cum populo gratias egit*, and *De domo* in particular to establish a separate group independent of the Parisinus family. E. Lattes, *A che punto siamo con l'interpretazione dei testi etruschi?* Etruscan not so far from an Aryan speech as supposed, nor its texts a hopeless problem. F. Pfister, *Die lokalhistorie von Sicyon bei Menaichmos, Pausanias und den Chronographen*. There was no 'Cleisthenic redaction' of the chronology of Sicyon. The list of kings in Pausanias is based on local history, probably Menaechmus. The changes in chronographers are due to the fitting of Sicyonian dates into the framework of general Greek history. Notes on Menaechmus' works. W. Aly, *Die litterarische Ueberlieferung des Prometheus-mythos*. The myth in Hesiod, Aeschylus, Plato, and the mythographers. From Hesiod may be reconstructed an old 'Homeric Hymn,' the ἀνθρωπίνου γένους γοῶν, a product of Ionian rationalistic irony not later than the seventh century B.C. H. Mutschmann, *Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Maximus Tyrius*. Rejects Hobein's theory of the text (Teubner 1910) and argues for the Regius as archetype of all groups of MSS. E. Petersen, *Euripides Hypsipyle*. Reconstruction of play and arrangement of fragments. W. Crönert, *Strassburger literarische Papyri I*. On a fragment of an Ionian work (Strass. Pap. Graec. 2340). H. Ehrlich, *Zu altitalischen Sprachdenkmälern*. On Carmen Arvale: esp. that 'seminu' is from 'semen' and not=gods. On the Fucine Bronze. A. Mentz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Schrift*. (1) ὁ ὀξύρυγχος χαρακτήρ. The adj. does not mean 'sharp-beaked' but 'of Oxyrhynchus.' The form of writing is a rounded decorated uncial. (2) Greek shorthand follows Roman in time. (3) Notes of Roman numeral signs, and (4) Seneca's collection of shorthand notes. Miscellen. On *Pindar* fr. 221, *Eur. Tro.* 532-7. Dittenberger. I. O. 606: *Ciris* v. 414 (on the Hellespont): MSS. of Tacit. *Dialogus*.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 41. No. 3. 1913.

M. L. de Gubernatis, *Epitaph of Allia Potestas*. Text with commentary and photograph of Latin inscription of 50 lines in irregular hexameters and pentameters. L. Dalmasso, *Formation of words in Palladius* (continued). On Adjectives in -alis, -arius, -atus, -icius, -inus and -inus, -torius (-sorius), etc. Verbs (a) derived from Nouns, (b) from Adjectives, (c) Inchoatives. Adverbs. Composition: (a) in Nouns, (b) in Adjectives, (c) Verbs. Palladius's vocabulary falls into three chief groups: 1. Technical words; 2. ecclesiastical ones; 3. so-called 'vulgarisms.' R. Sabbadini, *The letter of Donatus to L. Munatius*. Criticism on Blumner's text in *Vitae Vergilianae*. The Letter has a rhythmical character, but quantity is often disregarded. D. Bassi, *Deciphered Herculanum Papyri*. List of the papyri with names and dates of their unrollers and decipherers. P. Rasi, *Hor. Od. I. 27. 19. Defence of laborabas*. E. S., *Obituary Notice of Arturo Graf*.

Vol. 41. No. 4. 1913.

Arnaldo Beltrami, *On the Judaic and particularly the Essenic spirit of the pseudo-Phocylidean Collection*. Would show that the maxims attributed to Phocylides derive much from Jewish and, specially, Essene sources. Achille Beltrami, *A new codex of Seneca's Epistulae Morales*. This MS. in the Biblioteca Queriniana at Brescia (no. B II 6), is fully described and illustrated by 3 photographs. It is assigned to the tenth century, and said to be derived from a better archetype than other MSS. of the *Epistles*. Auguste Mancini, *On the criticism of Asconius*. Lectures and value of the Lucca MS. (no. 1756). An 'indirect copy' of the Matritensis, anticipating a number of modern

corrections. Luigi Malvaggi, *Orthography and Morphology*. Attacks the orthographical theory of Brambach that we should write Latin with the spelling of Quintilian's time and the current one that we should give the earliest spellings attested in each passage by the MSS. The only reasonable course is to restore the spelling of the author's age consistently. In spite of MS. fluctuations in the declension of certain compound adjectives (*inermis exanimis* etc.) the archaising -us forms should be systematically restored in Tacitus. Pier Luigi Ciceri, *The Chapter De Nilo flumine in Isidore's De natura rerum*. On the sources of Isidore's statements.

Wiener Studien. XXXIV. 1. 1913.

H. von Arnim, *Zu den Gedichten des Kerkidas*. Metrical, textual, and exegetical notes on the poems. Hunt and Wilamowitz's identification of the author accepted. L. Radermacher, *Mythica*: I. Στεμφυλοχαίρων Τραπεζοχάρωντι (Alkiphron *Ep.* III, 10) and Χάρων. II. The use of a lock of hair as a love-token. III. Lamps in Heaven representing souls. H. Swoboda, *Die ätolische Komenverfassung*. The κώμη-organization did not continue later than the fourth century. J. Jüthner, *Der spartanische Nackttanz*. Examination of the description in Athen. XIV, 631 B. H. Fischl, *Zur Chronologie der Ödipusdramen des Sophokles*. E. Sofer, *Zu Lykurg u. Aeschines*. On Lycurgus in *Leocratem* § 140. J. Pavlu, *Zu Diogenes Laertius* III, 62. A. Kapellmacher, *Zu Aristoteles' Rhetorik* III, 9. W. Weinberger, *TA EYNOMIOY TPAMMATA*. R. Meister, *Das Genus der Substantiva im Sprachgebrauch der LXX*. H. Schenkl, *Zum ersten Buche der Selbstbetrachtungen des Marcus Antoninus*. The chronological relations between I and II-XII. R. Beer, *Galenfragmente im codex Pal. Vindobonensis* 16. Restoration of text. A. Rzach, *Sibyllinische Weltalter*. The relation of the *Orac. Sibyl.* to the sources. E. Gollob, *Zu Paulus aus Nicaea*. K. Burkhard, *Auszüge aus Philoponus als Randbemerkungen in einer Nemesiushandschrift*. Extracts from Ph.'s commentary on Aristotle's *περὶ ψυχῆς*. J. Sadjak, *Zaridae epigrammata in cod. Vindob. phil. Gr.* 341. Text of two epigrams *Εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ καθήμενον*. J. Bick, *Wanderungen griechischer Handschriften*. On the MSS. collected by Busbeck. K. Wessely, *Biene u. Honig*. The relations of the Indoger. and the Ugro-altaic languages. A. Stein, *Griechische Rangtitel in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. The use of the Greek titles at different periods. K. v. Holzinger, *Diokles von Peparethos als Quelle des Fabius Pictor*. E. Kalinka, *Die Herausgabe des Bellum ciuile*. The book was published in Caesar's lifetime. A. Klotz, *Kritisch-exegetische Kleinigkeiten*: 1, *Verg. Ecl.* I. 59-66; 2, *Caes. Bell. Gall.* I. 39, 4; 3, *Caes. Bell. Gall.* VII. 28, 6. A. Engelbrecht, *Zu Ciceros Übersetzung aus dem Platonischen Timaeus*. On Cicero's method in translating. R. C. Kukula, *Quintilian's Interpretation von Horaz's Carm.* I 14. The poem is not an allegory, but a *Propempticum* for Octavian. E. Hauler, *Aus dem Frontopalimpsest*. S. Brassloff, *Die gesetzliche Erbfolge im Recht von Gortyn*. L. M. Hartmann, *Das Latinerbündnis des Sp. Cassius*. K. Beth, *Ueber die Herkunft des orphischen Erikepaios*. Borrowed, as the name shows, from Babylonian cosmogony. A. Bauer, *Der Schluss des Markus-Evangeliums*. The various strata in the text. W. F. Otto, *Römische Sagen*. 1, Those connected with the Family; 2, Anna Perenna. F. Holzer, *Zu den sakralen Inschriften CIL V 4087 und X 797*. E. Bormann, *Zu den neu entdeckten Grabinschriften jüdischer Katakomben von Rom*.

XXXIV. 2. 1913.

J. Mesk, *Lucians Nigrinus und Juvenal* I. Did Lucian know the first satire? R. Mollweide, *Die Entstehung der Cicero-Excerpte des Hadoard u. ihre Bedeutung für die Textkritik*. II. The H-excerpts represent a 'purified' text of the *Corpus Tullianum*. R. Novák, *Kritische Studien zu Seneca Rhetor.* I. W. A. Baehrens, *Zu Florus*. I. Application of the Clausula-laws to the criticism of the text. A. Wilhelm, *Prosopographische Bemerkungen*. Deals with the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1913.

Aug. 11. O. Lagercrantz, *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis*, Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur, bearb. von O. L. (H. Blümner). A. P. Wagener, *Popular association of right and left in Roman literature* (H. Blümner). 'A very useful collection of material.' P. Dierschke, *De fide Prisciani in versibus Vergilii Lucani Statii Iuvenalis examinata* (P. Wessner). 'A meritorious work.'

Aug. 18 (double number). Th. Gomperz, *Hellenica. Eine Auswahl philologischer und philosophiegeschichtlicher kleiner Schriften* I, II (W. Nestle). R. Staehlin, *Das Motiv der Mantik im antiken Drama* (W. Nestle). 'Increases our knowledge of many details in the ancient drama.' C. Reinhardt, *De Graecorum theologia* (W. Nestle). 'The method is discreet and therefore convincing.' J. Lesquier, *Papyrus grecs publiés sous la direction de P. Jouguet* II, 2-4. *Papyrus de Magdola*. Sec. ed. par J. L. (C. Wessely).

Sept. 1. I. Bywater, *Aristoteles Περὶ ποιητικῆς*. A revised text with critical introduction, translation, and commentary by I. B., and *Aristotelis de arte poetica liber*, rec. I. B. (P. Cauer). 'Nothing in the German language of a similar nature can be compared with this great edition of the English scholar.' J. Demianczuk, *Supplementum comicum. Comoediae Graecae fragmenta* coll. J. D. (E. Wüst). G. Seure, *Études sur quelques types curieux du cavalier Thrace* (G. Kazarow). 'A weighty contribution to the history of Thracian religion.'

Sept. 8. R. v. Pöhlmann, *Aus Altertum und Gegenwart*. 2. Aufl. (Fr. Cauer). 'Highly to be recommended.' L. Radermacher, *Sophokles*, erkl. von F. W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck. *Oidipus auf Kolonos*. 9. Aufl. von L. R. (F. Adami). O. Seiffert, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem unteren Teile des Stadtberges von Pergamon* (K. Löschhorn).

Sept. 15. J. van Leeuwen, *Homer. Ilias I-XII*. Ed. J. van L. (F. Stürmer). 'Disappointing.' D. S. Margoliouth, *The Poetics of Aristotle*. Translated with a revised text (P. Cauer). 'Valuable material here made accessible for the first time.' Th. Herrle, *Quaestiones rhetoricae ad elocutionem pertinentes* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Traces the development of rhetoric to the end of the first century B.C.' A. Thumb, *Satzrhythmus und Satzmelodie in der altgriechischen Prosa* (P. Habermann). 'Of little value.' W. Bowen, *Tacitus, The Annals, books I and II*, by W. B. (G. Andresen). O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II. (Fr. Harder). 'Quite indispensable.'

Sept. 22. O. Crusius and W. Nestle, *Nietzsche's Werke* XIX. *Philologica*. 3. Band. *Unveröffentlichtes zur antiken Religion und Philosophie*, herausg. von O.C. and W. N. (H. Steuding). J. W. White, *The verse of Greek comedy* (E. Wüst). 'Shows many-sided learning.' L. Hahn, *Der Kaisertum* (E. Hohl). 'Full of learning.'

Sept. 29. Fr. Boll, *Griechischer Lieberzauber aus Ägypten auf zwei Bleitafeln des Heidelberger Archäologischen Instituts*; L. Fahz, *Ein neues Stück Zauberpapyrus*; R. Wünsch, *Aus einem griechischen Zauberpapyrus, and Antike Fluchtafeln*; E. Fehrle, *Antike Hagelzauber*. All favourably noticed by Fr. Pfister. F. Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis sollemnibus quaestiones selectae* (Cl. Peters). 'Admirable collection of material.' M. Schlossarek, *Sprachwissenschaftlich-vergleichende Kasusbetrachtung im Lateinischen und Griechischen* (R. Berndt). 'To be warmly commended.'

Oct. 6. J. C. Vollgraff, *Platonis dialogus qui inscribitur Phaedrus*, rec. J. C. V. (H. Gillischewski). 'Makes a step forward.' Aem. Sehr, *De Menandro Euripidis imitatore* (K. Busche). 'Full of matter.' A. Zimmermann, *Neue kritische Beiträge zu den Posthomerica des Quintus Smyrnaeus* (K. Löschhorn). 'Worthy of consideration.'

Oct. 13. K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*. 2. Aufl. I. 1 (M. Gelzer). 'Deserves the highest praise.' P. Klimek, *Kritische Studien zu Xenophons Memorabilien*. II. (K. Löschhorn). 'Worth consideration.' Ph. Fabia, *L'ambassade d'Othon aux Vitelliens* (Nohl). W. A. Baehrens, *Beiträge zum lateinischen Syntax* (F. Gustafsson). J. Marouzeau, *Notes sur la fixation du latin classique* (F. Gustafsson).

Oct. 20. C. Grünewald, *Die Satzparenthese bei den zehn attischen Rednern* (R. Berndt). 'Well arranged.' H. F. Allen, *Five Greek mummy-labels in the Metropolitan Museum, New York* (W. Larfeld). W. Obens, *Qua aetate Socratis et Socraticorum epistulae, quae dicuntur, scriptae sint* (W. Vollbrecht). 'The question is here solved.' H. Groehler, *Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung des französischen Ortsnamen* (H. Philipp). 'A fine piece of work.'

Oct. 27. J. Dörfler, *Die Orphik in Platons Gorgias* (Fr. Pfister). 'Overrates the Orphic influence.' H. Merguet, *Lexikon zu Vergilius*, Lief. 6-10 (H. Belling). P. Waltzing, *Minucius Felix*, Octavius, rec. P. W. II. and A. Schöne, *Minucius Felix*, Octavius, herausg. von A. S. II. (Boenig). A. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 2. Aufl. Anhang (H. Blümner). Gives a bibliography up to date.

Nov. 3. H. R. Hall, *The ancient history of the near East from the earliest times to the battle of Salamis* (A. Wiedemann). 'Seeks a middle standpoint between conflicting opinions.' C. Hude, *Lysiae orationes*, rec. C. H. (W. Vollbrecht). The Oxford edition with short but sufficient critical notes. W. Gebhardi, *Ein ästhetischer Kommentar zu den lyrischen Dichtungen des Horaz*, 3 Aufl. von A. Scheffler (H. Belling).

Nov. 10. E. Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums* (H. Blümner). 'Very complete.' M. L. Strack, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*. II. Thrakien I. 1. *Die Münzen der Thraker und der Städte Abdera, Ainos, Anchialos*, unter Mitwirkung von H. v. Fritze bearb. von M. L. S. (H. Gaebler). E. Diehl, *Vergil Aeneis* II. mit dem Commentar des Servius, herausg. von E. D. (H. Belling). H. T. Karsten, *Commenti Donatiani ad Terenti fabulas scholia genuina et spuria probabiliter separare conatus est* H. T. K. II. (P. Wessner). 'Deserves the fullest recognition.'

Nov. 17. C. Robert, *Sophokles, Die Spürhunde*, übersetzt von C. R. (A. Stamm). H. v. Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum*, bearb. von H. v. A. (K. Busche). V. Ussani, *Sul Ludus de morte Claudii* (Rabehl). 'U's alterations are no improvement.'

Nov. 24. F. Wendorff, *Die aristokratischen Sprecher der Theognis-Sammlung*, and T. Hudson Williams, *Theognis, the elegies and other elegies included in the Theognidean sylloge*, by T. H. W. (B.). 'The edition of Hudson Williams is the best English edition up to now.' E. Diehl, *Supplementum Sophocleum*, ed. E. D. (A. Stamm). J. S. Phillimore, *Philostratus in honour of Apollonius of Tyana*, transl. by J. S. P. (N. Bees). 'Shows great diligence and learning.' C. Pascal, *Le credenze d'oltretomba nelle opere litterarie dell' antichità classica* (H. Steuding). 'The sources are carefully collected and used.'

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. IV. Band, 4 Heft. 1913.

P. Kretschmer, *Mythical Names*. 'Αχιλεύς belongs to the numerous class of heroic fathers whose sons have compound names, cf. 'Οδυσσεύς-Τηλέμαχος, 'Ατρεΰς-Αγαμέμνων; for -ιλ- cf. ὀργίλος, κοπίλος; the first part is ἄχος, cf. Πενθίλος, Πενθεύς, 'Αχέρων; we start with a hero of the Adonis-Attis type who had the 'sad' fate of an early death; even in the age of Pausanias the women of Elis mourned for Achilles at an annual festival; he ruled in Φθίη 'land of the dead' (φθίμενοι) over the 'people of terror' Μυρμίδονες, cf. Μορμώ, formido. Nestor was a Chthonian deity who returned (Νόστος, νέομαι) from the 'gate' of Hades; Πύλος was the scene of a fight between Heracles and Hades; Cecrops, another Chthonian, was the god with the serpent's 'tail' κέρκοψ cf. Πέλοψ).

In the *Literatur-bericht* of books on the Greek Language published in 1910 (Kretschmer) we find notices of numerous works dealing with the modern Greek dia-

lects. It is very gratifying to find linguistic students paying so much attention to this indispensable handmaid of the ancient classics; but why do we never find any mention of new books written in the living speech of modern Greece, e.g. the dramas of Nirvanas and Xenopoulos, or the poems of Palamas, works of fascinating interest and great literary merit written in the popular idiom? Among points of interest may be noted the praise given to the dialect studies of R. M. Dawkins (*JHS.* XXX), the reference to the survival of the infinitive in Pontus (as imperative only), Premerstein's discussion of the inscription on the Cleobis and Biton statue at Delphi, and the delightful parallel to the compromise which gave Pheidippides his name (*Clouds*), viz. big compounds like Δημητροσιμοσπυράγγελος which result when the priest, parent, and god-parent fail to agree on a child's name in Cephallenia. Schulze explains Δωριῆς as a short form of δωρίμαχοι, 'spear-fighters,' the name given to them by their bow-using neighbours the Locrians (cf. *Il.* 13. 712); Kretschmer suggests that Δωρίς their original home means 'tree-land,' cf. Δρύορες. The *Bericht* includes a large number of Greek and Latin etymologies that are particularly adventurous and unconvincing. In the sections on *Syntax* one is much struck with the extraordinary amount of work done in Latin, the report on which covers forty pages (for Greek five pages suffice). We note a large number of monographs on the usage of single writers, especially of the post-classical period, e.g. Arnobius, Avitus. Bennett's *Syntax of Early Latin* comes in for much praise, and, if one may judge from the reviewer's description, few classical scholars can afford to miss Frobenius's *Syntax of Ennius* (Tübingen diss.) and Ruckdeschel's two programmes (Munich) on *Archaisms and Vulgarisms in the Language of Horace*.

V. Band, 1, 2 Heft. 1913.

Witte continues his articles on *Homeric forms and metrical influence*; Lambertz concludes his discussion of the *Supernomen in the Roman Empire*. Havers, *On the use of the Dative in the Italic Dialects*. Aly, on Ἀρέθουσα, σημάντωρ, θυμέλη, Εὐρώπη, Φοῖνιξ. Buturas, *On the Irrational nasal in modern Greek*. Baehrens contributes a very interesting miscellany on Latin Syntax; Indicative for Imperative, especially in the well-attested and widespread *uides enim*; *quis* for *quidam*, e.g. *quae a quibus audiui silere nequeo* Greg. Tur.; *omnia*=*omnino* with a defence of *Lucr.* ii. 456 and *Cic. Att.* iv. 1. 7; *talem . . . quod* for which *Lucr.* ii. 453 supplies a link with archaic Latin; *exx.* of genit. abs. and acc. abs. in late Latin; *idem*=*is*, with which we may compare the constant use of 'the same' for 'it' or 'them' by half-educated writers of formal letters.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXXII. Band. Anzeiger. 1913.

K. Brugmann, discussing the new edition (1911) of his *Grundriss*, 2 Band, 2 Teil (nouns and adverbs), calls our attention to a radical change in the arrangement of the whole work. Instead of having the Syntax treated as before by Delbrück in separate volumes, Brugmann has himself taken over the syntax of the noun, and in order to bring it into closer connexion with his treatment of noun morphology he has incorporated it in the new volume. The result is practically a new treatise based in part on Delbrück's pioneer work; this is much more than a mere matter of arrangement; it helps one to realize the kinship of syntax and morphology when the two are elucidated side by side in the same volume, a method we have already learned to appreciate in Hirt's admirable *Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, of which a new and much enlarged revision has recently appeared. We note in this *Anzeiger* a somewhat belated but detailed review of Thumb's *Griechische Dialekte* (1910), and an obituary of F. Solmsen (obit June 13, 1911), including a valuable account of his contributions to grammatical science. There are also reviews of Gercke-Norden's *Einleitung*, Hoffmann's *Griechische Sprache*, Buck's *Greek Dialects* and H. L. Jones's *Poetic Plural of Greek Tragedy*.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL, 1914.

THVCYDIDEA.

PART II. MISCELLANEOUS EMENDATIONS (*continued*).

BOOK V.

1. τοῦτο τῆς καθάρσεως. Perhaps τὸ τῆς κ. Cf. 3. 59. 1 τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς : 6. 60. 4 τὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν.

2. 2. A numeral missing with ὀπλίτας? Cf. the words immediately above. See my *Aristophanes and Others*, p. 321, and below on 8. 62. 2.

4. 6. αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἂν πείθειν αὐτούς.

Probably πείθων, though αἰσθάνομαι is followed by an accusative and infinitive in 6. 59. 3. Soph. *O.C.* 797 οἶδα γάρ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθων.

9. 6. ἕως . . . θαρσοῦσι καὶ τοῦ ὑπαπιέναι πλέον ἢ τοῦ μένοντος . . . τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσι.

Besides the awkwardness of infinitive and neuter participle made parallel, it may be noticed that διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν ὑπαπιέναι would be the more usual expression. Perhaps τοῦ (masc.) ὑπαπιέναι πλέον ἢ τοῦ μένειν μέλλοντος.

ib. 9. ὑπάρξειν for ὑπάρχειν? Cf. on 111. 2.

16. 2. τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, not ἑαυτῶν. In 7. 3. 3, where MSS. offer both (as they do in 5. 8. 3), ἑαυτοῦ is again better, unless we were to read ἡσύχαζον. Xen. *Hell.* 5. 4. 13 is a little different.

ib. 3. ἡμῖν τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ Διὸς οἰκοῦντα is a strange and—in spite of 1. 134. 1—very questionable phrase. In the line before this the older MSS. have a detached and doubtful ἕως or ἕως following δοκοῦσαν, out of which later ones make δοκίσεως. May we conjecture τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἱερέως τότε τοῦ Διός? τότε will probably go with ἱερέως.

17. 2. Surely προδόντων is a mistake for παραδόντων : προδιδόναι is never used in this sense. The same correction has been made in 6. 4. 1.

18. 4. δικαίφ <λόγφ> χρήσθων καὶ ὄρκους? Cf. 11 λόγοις δικαίοις χρωμένοις : 37. 2 κοινῷ λόγφ χρωμένους : 1. 76. 2 τῷ δικαίφ λόγφ νῦν χρήσθε : Soph. *O.C.* 762.

ib. 5. Editors seem not to notice sufficiently the great peculiarity of tenses in *ὅσας πόλεις παρέδοσαν* and *ἐπειδὴ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο*, which do not refer to anything past at the making of the treaty, but to what will be past at some future time, what in fact would in Latin be expressed by the future perfect. A similar use is found in 6. 80. 2 *τί ἄλλο ἢ . . . τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἡμύνετε σωθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐκωλύσατε κακοὺς γενέσθαι*, where the aorists refer to the future, and in *Od.* 14. 404 *ὅς σ' ἐπεὶ ἐς κλισίην ἄγαγον καὶ ξείνια δῶκα αὐτὶς δὲ κτείναιμι κ.τ.λ.* Even in Stahl's *Syntax des gr. Verbums* this remarkable construction goes unmentioned.

20. 1. The uncalled-for *ἢ* before *ὥς* is perhaps only a repetition of the *ν* (N H often confused) preceding it. Cf. 26. 3 *ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς παρενεγκούσας*.

26. 5. *παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι. ἀμφοτέρων?* In 7. 63. 4 Classen's *ἐτέρων* (for *ἐτέρας*) *ῥώμης* is attractive.

27. 2. *ἀποδεῖξαι δὲ ἄνδρας ὀλίγους ἀρχὴν αὐτοκράτορας. αὐτοκράτορα?* Cf. 1. 96. 2 *Ἑλληνοταμίαι . . . κατέστη ἀρχή.* (So too Steup.)

40. 3. Perhaps *ἐγχωρῇ*, not *ξυγχωρῇ*. In *Xen. Eq.* 9. 11 MSS. give both words.

60. 5 (end). *γενέσθαι?*

63. 1. *παρασχὼν καλῶς ὥς οὐπω πρότερον αὐτοὶ ἐνομιζον.*

There is little force in *αὐτοί*. Read *αὐτοῖς* or *αὐτοῖς*, like the datives in 60. 2 and 5 with *παρατυχόν* and *παρασχόν*.

ib. 3. *ἔργῳ γὰρ ἀγαθῷ ῥύσεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας.* The use of *ῥύομαι* in *Soph. O.T.* 313 supports this to some extent. If it is wrong, we might read *ιάσεσθαι*, *ἰᾶσθαι* and *ἀκείσθαι* being often thus used (as in 65. 2) and *ι* sometimes exchanging with *ρ*.

66. 1. Perhaps *ὅτε* has been lost before *οἳ τε Ἀργεῖοι*.

ib. 2. *ἐξεπλάγησαν* were surprised, taken aback, not frightened. Cf. 4. 14. 3; 6. 46. 4, and 70. 1: *Plat. Euthyph.* 6 c: *Eur. Phoen.* 729, 961: *Hel.* 549.

71. 3. *τοῖν πολεμάρχων* with 'I. and 'A. in apposition? But the genitive may be right. Cf. 8. 73. 4 and other places.

72. 2. The antithesis of *ἐμπειρία* and *ἀνδρεία* (by these or similar names) is so frequent that there cannot be any reasonable doubt of its being right here. As to the unlikelihood of the Spartans failing in *ἐμπειρία*, it may be noted (1) that *ἐμπειρία* and *ἀπειρία*, etc., came to signify sometimes *knowledge, skill*, or the want of it, rather than possession or lack of *experience* (1. 142. 5, 6. 1. 1, etc. In 6. 68. 2 and 69. 1 *ἐπιστήμη* is used in the same antithesis); and (2) that the phrase may refer rather to the general than to the army.

76. 3. *τὸν μὲν (λόγον) καθ' ὅτι εἰ βούλονται πολεμεῖν, τὸν δ' ὥς εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν.*

ὥς should perhaps be *καί*, the two words being often confused. For the construction of the clauses cf. on 3. 52. 2.

83. 4. *Perdiccas ἔψευστο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ἡ στρατεία μάλιστα διελύθη ἐκείνου ἀπάραντος.*

The last word is generally allowed to be wrong, and such substitutes have been proposed as ἀπαρνηθέντος, ἀποστάντος, ἀποδράντος (out of the question), οὐ παρόντος. I take it that the right word is one with the parts of which those of ἀπαίρω and ἀπορῶ often exchange, e.g. *Philebus* 67 B (cf. Cobet, *N.L.* p. 779), namely ἀπεροῦντος. The gathering broke up because it was found that Perdiccas was going to fail them.

88. εἰκός . . . καὶ λέγοντας καὶ δοκοῦντας τρέπεσθαι.

ἀκούοντας as one listens for δοκοῦντας (A for Δ) seems not unlikely, as λέγω and ἀκούω so often go together. ἀκούοντας would refer back to διδάσκειν in 86, as δοκοῦντας to ὑπονοίας in 87. For Thucydides the use of δοκῶ *think* is not beyond question, just as it probably never occurs in Plato, though very frequent in Xenophon. Its *absolute* use here is especially remarkable.

89. οἷ <τε> προύχοντες ?

95. ἡ φιλία ἡ μὲν has been suggested and may be right. If not, I would take παράδειγμα as = παράδειγμά ἐστι. The substantive verb has often to be supplied in this dialogue, e.g. 90, 91, 100, 101, 102.

105. 1. τῆς . . . πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα λελείψεσθαι.

πρὸς τοῦ θείου is suggested (Krüger, Steup), and at first sight is very plausible; cf. 112. 2 ἐκ τοῦ θείου. But the following passages are enough with this to guarantee the accusative: Plat. *Euthyphro* 15 E τῆς πρὸς Μέλητον γραφῆς ἀπαλλάξομαι: *Republic* 470 A ἐάν τι ἡμῖν μέλη τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας εὐνοίας: Hyperides 6. 27 ἐφόδιον εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίαν τὴν . . . ἀρετὴν . . . ἔξουσιν: Dem. 20. 25 τοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντα πιστεῦσθαι: Plut. *Comp. Lyc. et Num.* τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐτήρησε πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας.

105. 3. οὐ φοβούμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι.

There is no parallel for a future infinitive with φοβοῦμαι. Above (104) μὴ ἐλασσώσεσθαι depends on πιστεύομεν, and λελείψεσθαι (105. 1) on οὐκ οἴομεθα. Probably an οἴομενοι, ἡγούμενοι, νομίζοντες has dropped out here.

106. Should we read ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο [καὶ]? μάλιστα δὴ πιστεύομεν τῷ συμφέροντι αὐτῶν ?

111. 2. παρέξετε ? cf. on 9. 9. Four futures follow.

ib. 3. πολλοῖς γὰρ προορωμένοις ἔτι ἐς οἷα φέρονται τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλούμενον ὀνόματος ἐπαγωγῇ δυνάμει ἐπεσπάσατο ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος ἔργῳ συμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ἐκόντας περιπεσεῖν.

As the words stand, there is no construction for the datives πολλοῖς προορ. unless we take ἐπεσπάσατο in the sense, strange for the middle, *draws down upon*. The natural sense, *draws on, allures*, is so suitable here that we should wish to retain it, if possible. πολλοὺς προορωμένους is of course forbidden by ἡσσηθεῖσι following. ἡσσηθεῖσι is also to some extent against the plausible conjecture ἐπέσπασε τό, for then ἡσσηθέντας would be more usual.

I conjecture that after αἰσχρὸν two very similar letters, εν or εγ, have been lost, and that Thucydides wrote ἐγκαλούμενον, which will account for the datives πολλοῖς προορ. Very similar in expression and in general meaning is the language of Phrynichus in 8. 27. 2 οὐδέποτε τῷ αἰσχρῷ ὀνειδεῖ εἷξας ἀλόγως

διακινδυνεύσειν. Cf. also 1. 77. 2 οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν τοῖς . . . ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι . . . διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται, where the persons come first in the dative, and the verb of reproach follows later. But the dative ἡσσηθείσι following ἐπεσπάσατο seems impossible, and I would therefore move the latter, say to come after ἐκόντας in the next line, or make some other change in the order of words.

αἰσχροῖς . . . κινδύνους above is an odd expression, and ἐσχάτοις has been substituted. αἰσχροῖς seems to come from αἰσχρόν here, αἰσχύνην helping.

BOOK VI.

1. 1. Should we read ἐβουλεύοντο for ἐβούλοντο? (cf. however 6. 1). The words are often confused, as critical notes will show, e.g. 3. 43. 2, 6. 54. 4, 7. 72. 2, 8. 92. 5. ἐβουλεύομην takes an infinitive in 5. 8. 1. Cf. *Ar. Peace* 58, 231, etc. Make perhaps the same change in 3. 3. 1.

ib. 2. The οὔσα of MSS. is only a reproduction of the οὔσα two lines above.

3. 1. βωμὸν ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν.

The use of ὅστις is not Attic, and it is an idle fancy that Thucydides took it over from Antiochus. Probably ὅστις is merely a mistake for ὅσπερ. Thus in Aesch. *P.V.* 822 ἦνπερ is a certain correction (Hermann) of ἦντιν', and ib. 609 the MSS. have ὅτι against ὅπερ in the *Etym. Magn.* *Phaedo* 59 E ὅσπερ is undoubted, but we have some evidence for ὅστις. *Soph. O.T.* 1054 ὄντιν' looks like an error for ὄνπερ: cf. 1120. For βωμὸς ὅσπερ, an altar, the very one which, cf. 7. 4. 4, 7. 29. 5, etc.

6. 2. Perhaps <διὰ> Λεοντίνων. This seems more likely than that Δ. should be simply omitted.

7. 1. σίτον ἀνεκομίσαντό τινα ζεύγη κομίσαντες.

Either the verb or the participle is a slip of the pen for some other word. Thucydides would not use κομίζω twice.

8. 3. There should be no stop after προσδέοιντο. ψηφισθῆναι is explanatory.

10. 4. μετὰ Σικελιωτῶν οὓς πρὸ πολλῶν ἂν ἐτιμήσαντο ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι.

Probably πρὸ πολλοῦ, the plural ending being due to that of Σικελιωτῶν. So in 8. 2 τοῖς κοινοῖς is due to τοῖς ἱεροῖς. If πολλῶν is right, we must add χρημάτων after ἂν, as in 1. 33. 2.

11. 2. Σ. δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἔτι ἦσσαν ἂν δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ κ.τ.λ.

Much difficulty has been found here. The real solution, I think, is to read οὐ for ἂν before μοι. δεινοὶ εἶναι is then easily understood from the following words.

In Plutarch *adv. Colot.* 1123 D ἴσμεν . . . μᾶλλον ἂν οἷς οὐ παρατυγχάνουσιν διαπιστήσαντας ἀνθρώποις . . . ἢ μίαν ἐκείνων ἀληθῆ . . . εἶναι φαντασίαν πεισθέντας I think we should read οἷς ἂν παρατυγχάνωσι.

ib. 4. <μάλιστα> after πλείστον, as in 4. 115. 3?

12. 1. εἴη ἄν for εἶναι? The confusion occurs elsewhere.

ib. 2. For νεωτέρῳ read νεωτέρων with Stein and Badham. The construction will be easier if we put εἶναι after it, not after μέγα. Οὕς calls for a plural. Instead of τῷ αὐτῷ following (13. 1) we certainly need τοιούτῳ. (So too, I find, Badham.) There is little or no point in *the same*.

13. 1. In the speech of Alcibiades (16–18) Thucydides makes him twice refer to his supposed ἄνοια in a way that is hardly intelligible, unless Nicias in the preceding speech has imputed it to him. The passages are 16. 3, where ἦδ' ἡ ἄνοια is certainly right, and 17. 1 ἡ ἐμὴ νεότης καὶ ἄνοια. The repetition of the word points plainly to something in Nicias' speech. Yet in that speech itself there is nothing said on the subject and the word does not occur. The editors offer no explanation of this: indeed they do not even notice it.

In 13. 1 Nicias bids the older men not be shamefaced before the younger μηδ', ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ πάθοιεν, δυσέρωτας εἶναι τῶν ἀπόντων. Some say that αὐτοί means *of themselves*, without encouragement from Alcibiades and his friends; others refer it to these younger, not to the elder, men. Either explanation is forced and weak. Others again read οὗτοι. Can it be that ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοί represents ὅπερ ἂν ἀνόητοι, the double *an* helping the mistake? In the text of the *Meno* the name Ἄνυτος appears two or three times as αὐτός, and so Ἀθ. Πολ. 27 (end), but this is an easier corruption. Even ἀνόητοι however would contain no specific reference to Alcibiades.

16. 2. In relation to the display at Olympia ἐκ τοῦ ὀρωμένου seems a probable correction of ἐκ τοῦ δρωμένου. So τὸ διαπρεπές before. The two words are apt to get confused: cf. Cobet *V.L.* 448-9. τὸ δρώμενον occurs however in 5. 102.

ib. 5. καταλιπόντας should be καταλείποντας to match ὄντας and ξυνόντας.

18. 2. καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι ἥρξαν.

ἥρξαν alone is odd. ὅσοι ἤδη, *before now*?

ib. 3. ἐπασκητέον for ἐπισκεπτέον, which seems hardly in place here? Neither verb is used by Thucydides elsewhere.

ib. 6. κόσμῳ ὥπερ?

21. 2. ἐκ γῆς φιλίας?

22 (end). λόγῳ δὴ (for ἄν)?

31. 4. Insert ἄν after μάλλον. εἰκασθῆναι does not mean *represented*, *portrayed*, a sense which is here unsuitable. It means that as regards or in the eyes of (ἐς) the other Greeks the expedition might have seemed or been taken to be a display rather than a force gathered for actual war. Cf. 1. 10. 2 διπλασίαν . . . ἂν εἰκάζεσθαι.

33. 6. τὸ τοιοῦτο can hardly be right. Either τι τοιοῦτο or (better) τὸ αὐτό seems needed.

34. 5. τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπολείπειν ἂν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἂν βέβαια ἔχοντες εἰ ὑποδέξοιντο ἀθυμοῖεν.

Since οὐκ has nothing to do with the verb, is it right that ἄν should stand immediately after it? For οὐκ ἄν I conjecture οὐ πάνν.

ib. 9. Instead of *τολμήσαντες* we seem to want an infinitive parallel to *ἐτοιμάζειν*. The participle is probably an inadvertent repetition of *τολμήσαντας* just above, and we have therefore nothing to guide us with any certainty. *τολμήσαι* would do, but it may be some quite different word. *τολμήσαντες* with an infinitive added is also possible.

35. 1. ἃ λέγεται, οἱ δέ (Madvig) may well be right. Possibly ἃ λέγει τις, οἱ δέ.

36. 1. οὕτω κακῶς φρονῆσαι <ὥστε> καί?

ib. 2. οἱ γὰρ <ἀεὶ> δεδιότες? καὶ νῦν in particular calls for such an addition.

46. 3. οἱ γὰρ Ἑγ., not οἱ δέ. Cf. on 89. 2.

49. 4. ἐφορμήσαντας (from ἐφορμεῖν)?

53. 3. οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καταλυθεῖσαν.

Is there any reason for ignoring Aristogeiton? 56. 2 (first words: cf. *Ar. Pol.* 8. 10. 1311 a 38) does not seem justification enough. Cf. 54. 1, 59. 1, and add καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.

54. 3. Omit τοῦ Πεισιστράτου.

55. 2. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στήλῃ (Valla's translation implying αὐτῇ).

64. 1. τοὺς γὰρ ἂν ψιλούς τοὺς σφῶν . . . τοὺς ἱππέας βλάπτειν ἂν μεγάλα.

A very unusual position for ἄν (but cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 512). τοὺς γὰρ δὴ?

72. 4. ταῦτα for αὐτά? What follows is against their being said to 'grow of themselves.'

76. 4. ἐπὶ δεσπότου μεταβολῇ (*substitution*) οὐκ ἄξυνετωτέρου, κακοξυνεωτέρου δέ.

There will be a better point if, assuming the very common confusion of ἀ- and εὐ- (cf. on 79. 2), we read εὐξυνεωτέρου, a word which occurs in 4. 18. 4. εὐ- and κακο- are then directly opposed with a sort of play on the senses of εὐ.

78. 2. τὸν αὐτόν is not quite the right expression, for no one whatever can control chance; but no doubt it is what Thucydides wrote.

ib. 3. τοῖς αὐτοῦ κακοῖς ὀλοφυρθεῖς.

ὀλ. is best taken as passive, *lamented*, *pitied*, i.e. *in trouble*. Cf. 2. 44. 1 τοὺς τοκέας . . . οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι (or -οῦμαι) μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι, the parents being τοῖς κακοῖς οὐκ ὀλοφυρθέντες by Pericles. If it were the middle, we should naturally have had the accusative, τὰ κακά. κακοῖς is dative of cause, as in *Eur. Or.* 386 οὐ γὰρ ζῶ κακοῖς.

ibid. σφῶι . . . τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν is surely an impossible phrase. Perhaps ἐλευθερίαν: cf. 76. 4, 2. 62. 3, etc. σωτηρίαν is due to σφῶι being in the writer's mind: cf. on 34. 9. Or is it σφῶι that is wrong?

79. 2. For the obscure ἀλόγως and εὐλόγῳ read εὐλόγως and ἀλόγῳ. Everything then is clear. Cf. on 76. 4.

80. 5. *καὶ* should probably be *καί*, though the mistake is certainly oftener the other way.

82. 4. *δουλείαν . . . ἐβούλοντο*. Cf. *Ar. Pol.* 8. 9. 1309 b 17 *τὸ βουλόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν πλῆθος*, *ibid.* 1310 a 21 *οἱ δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι*, and elsewhere.

83. 1. Perhaps *ταὐτὸ* (for *τοῦτο*) *δρῶντες* would be better.

85. 3. *<τὸ> ἐς Σ. δέος* seems needed.

87. 3. *καθ' ὅσον τι ὑμῖν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ τρόπου τὸ αὐτὸ ξυμφέρει*.

τὸ αὐτό, as usually explained, would certainly call for a *καί* before *ὑμῖν* (as in 83. 2), and in default of that we try to connect it with the *καί* introducing *τρόπου*. *τρόπου* again by itself is oddly added to *πολυπραγμοσύνης*. Should we read *καὶ τρόπου τοιούτου*? Cf. 7. 50. 4 *θειαςμῶ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσκείμενος*: 87. 2 *διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸ τοιούτον ἀπέθνησκον*. See above on 12. 2. In 68. 1 the same change seems needed, and the reverse in 7. 78. 1.

In 4 I would adopt the conjecture *ἀδεές*, comparing *Dem.* 16. 22 *οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀδεές τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνω τῇ πόλει*.

89. 2. *τῶν γὰρ* (for *δὲ*) *ἐμῶν*? Cf. on 46. 3.

91. 4. *ὡς ἂν . . . ξυντάξῃ* here and *ὅπως ἂν ἀπολισθάνοι* in 7. 65. 2 are probably right, though each is in its way a construction unique for Thucydides. But it would be easy to read *ὡς δὴ ξυντάξει* and *ὅπως δὴ*. *Od.* 19. 290 *οὐ δὴ μιν πέμψουσι κ.τ.λ.*

ib. 7. If *δικαστηρίων* is wrong (*ἐργαστηρίων* being a plausible conjecture), it is a curious coincidence that the word is wrong also in *Lysias* 31. 1, where *βουλευτήριον* is restored in its place.

After *μάλιστα* *δέ* should we insert a verb, e.g. *βλάφονται* or *κωλύσονται*? It is not likely that *ἀποστερήσονται* should take first an accusative and then a genitive. Cf. 1. 142. 2 *μέγιστον δὲ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται*, and *κωλύσετε* occurs here a few lines above.

BOOK VII.

1. 3. *τὰς γάρ B, τὰς μὲν* all other MSS. *τὰς μὲν γάρ* would be very suitable. Cf. 55. 1, etc.

3. 3. See on 5. 16. 2.

13. 2. *ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει* has been much discussed and copiously emended. Has it been suggested that *αὐτομολίας* may refer not to the men themselves (*οἱ μὲν . . . ἀπέρχονται*) but to their slaves? Only five lines above *Nicias* has said *οἱ θεράποντες . . . αὐτομολοῦσι*, and he may mean now that this gave masters an excuse for going in real or pretended pursuit of them. For a precisely similar use of *αὐτομολία* without slaves being specified cf. 1. 142. 4 *τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἂν τι μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις*, where the enemy overrun and the slaves run away. Consider also 7. 27. 5.

We are reminded of Plat. *Prot.* 310 c ὁ γάρ τοι παῖς με ὁ Σάτυρος ἀπέδρα, καὶ δῆτα μέλλων σοι φράζειν ὅτι διωξοίμην αὐτόν . . . ἐπελαθόμην.

25. 1. πρέσβεις ἄγουσα οἷπερ . . . φράσουσιν is not good Greek. ὅς and ὅστις are so used, never ὅσπερ. We must therefore either read one of these other pronouns (cf. on 6. 3. 1) or adopt B's ὅπως.

ib. 7. μή . . . ὥσπερ περὶ ἔρμα περιβάλλῃ τὴν ναῦν. Surely προσβάλλῃ. περι- is probably due to περὶ ἔρμα. προσβάλλειν is the regular word. Aesch. *Eum.* 564. τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον ἔρματι προσβαλὼν δίκας, etc. περιβάλλειν κακοῖς, etc., is quite different.

27. 4. τῆς ἴσης φρουρᾶς is an odd expression, but I am not quite convinced of its being wrong. ἴση φρουρά will be a garrison kept at the same strength, uniform and equal, in contrast with the πλέονες just mentioned. Steup demurs also to ἐξ ἀνάγκης, because the garrison cannot have depended for supplies on the plunder of devastated land; but the word ληστείας surely confirms it.

28. 2. <τὴν φυλακὴν> ποιοῦμενοι? cf. Steup. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι might well be omitted.

ib. 3. τὸ γάρ is clearly wrong, and Marchant's τό γ' ἄν much the most satisfactory correction, the ἄν being due of course to πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡπίστησεν ἄν. τό γ' ἄν κ.τ.λ. is in apposition to and in explanation of φιλονικίαν τοιαύτην ἦν . . . ἀκούσας: cf. 36. 5, 1. 32. 4, etc. τοιαύτην should, I think, be τοσαύτην: cf. on 8. 66. 2. So in 7. 69. 2 οἷος has been corrected to ὅσος. A few lines below we have two more difficulties, one the ὅσον which cannot really be joined with τοσοῦτον, because of ὥστε following, and the other οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ. ὅσον is probably a mistake for ὧν, referring to τοῖς Ἑλλησι. Confusion of parts of ὅς and ὅσος is common. Cf. for instance Xen. *Hell.* 1. 3. 9 ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον . . . ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν, where a papyrus fragment gives ὡνπερ (sic), and Plat. *Phaedo* 83 c where MSS. vary between ὅσον and ὧν, and on 4. 55. 1 above. Reading ὧν here, we have ὧν κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον ἐνόμιζον περιοίσειν αὐτούς, in which there must be something very wrong with the last clause. The best correction is Herwerden's οὐ δὴ for οὐδεὶς, but it is not quite right. We should indeed read οὐ δὴ, but in the place of οἱ δέ, not of οὐδεὶς: 'some thought they would hold out for a year, some for two, not assuredly for more than three anyone.' ἐνόμιζον must be changed to ἐνόμιζε(ν): the number was of course accommodated to the false οἱ δέ.

29. 5. <ἀλλὰ> μᾶλλον or μᾶλλον <δέ>?

30. 2. οὐκ ἀτόπως is used in a sense, *not badly*, probably unique in our Attic. Cf. however D. Hal. 477 and 480 (*Lysias* 12) and elsewhere.

31. 1. ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ?

ib. 4. αἱ νῆες . . . οὔτε καταλύουσι τὸν πόλεμον ναυμαχεῖν τε μέλλουσιν.

πόλεμον is ludicrous, but no good correction has been found. πόνος is a word for which it sometimes gets substituted (see Herod. 6. 114 (Aldine), Heliod. 2. 22., and two examples in Cobet *ad D. Hal.* p. 68), and which would give excellent sense here. Cf. on 8. 94. 3. The labour of keeping perpetual

watch on other ships was no doubt great, especially by night, as in 2. 83. 3, or 8. 102. 2. Cf. 3. 33. 3. Eur. *Phoen.* 1409 ἐξαλλαγείς γὰρ τοῦ παρεστῶτος πόνου illustrates the use of πόνος. φυλακὴν καταλύειν was a familiar phrase (*Wasps* 2, *Politics* 8. 8. 1308 a 29), and this was a φυλακή.

48. 3. καὶ γὰρ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ. Cf. Dem. 4. 47.

49. 3. ταῦτά, not ταῦτα.

51. 1. μὴ ἀνίεναι τὰ τῶν 'Α., ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότων ἤδη μηκέτι κρεισσόνων εἶναι σφῶν.

κατεγνωκότων wants an object. Read therefore αὐτῶν, comparing 3. 45. 1 καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ περιέσεσθαι.

56. 4. τῶν for τοῦ after λόγου, i.e. τῶν ξυνελθόντων? For ξύμπαντος λόγου cf. Soph. *O.C.* 1225.

61. 1. ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν <ἡμῖν> ὁ μέλλων? The antithesis requires that ἡμῖν be expressed.

63. 4. Read δὴ for ἄν, δικαίως δὴ αὐτὴν νῦν μὴ καταπροδίδοτε. δικαίως qualifies the whole negative expression adverbially. Cf. 8. 46. 5 καταφανέστερον . . . οὐ προθύμως ξυνεπολέμει: *Crito*, 44 A κινδυνεύεις ἐν καιρῷ τινη οὐκ ἐγείραί με: *Phaedo* 69 D εἰκότως . . . οὐ χαλεπῶς φέρω and 116 E ταῦτα εἰκότως οὐ ποιήσω, 95 B ἀτόπως ἔδοξεν . . . οὐ δέξασθαι: *Theaet.* 177 B ἀτόπως . . . οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς, 210 C σωφρόνως οὐκ οἶόμενος εἰδέναι: *Rep.* 605 B οὕτως ἤδη ἂν ἐν δίκῃ οὐ παραδεχοίμεθα: *Ar. Av.* 139 καλῶς . . . οὐκ ἔκυσας: *Dem.* 22. 42 πολλὰ χρήματ' ἀναιδῶς οὐ τιθέντας: *Od.* 14. 196 ῥηιδίως κεν ἔπειτα . . . οὐ τι διαπρήξαιμι: *Ar. Pol.* 7. 7. 1321 a 33 ἵνα ἐκὼν ὁ δῆμος μὴ μετέχῃ.

66. 3. τῷ ruins the symmetry of παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ αὐχλήματος and παρ' ἰσχὺν τῆς διανοίας. M. has τό, and it may be a mere repetition of τό which occurs twice just before. It may also conceivably represent τούτῳ, meant to stand before κολουθῶσι.

75. 4. In οὐκ ἄνευ ὀλίγων ἐπιθειαςμῶν it seems most likely that ὀλίγων is a mistake for πολλῶν, as has been suggested. In *Xen. Symf.* 4. 37 I have pointed out a clear case of the same confusion (though there it may be due to πολλά occurring twice just before); 'Αθ. Πολ. 18. 2 may be another. In *Ar. Rhet.* 1. 2. 1356 b 13 there seems to be an old variant ὀλίγων for πολλῶν. But it is also possible that Thucydides wrote in the next line ὀλίγου πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, and that ὀλίγου, getting out of its place, was changed to ὀλίγων. ὀλίγου is so used in 4. 124. 1, 8. 35. 3.

ibid. δάκρυσι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα πλησθὲν καὶ ἀπορία τοιαύτη μὴ ῥαδίως ἀφορμᾶσθαι.

κατ' ἀπορίαν τοιαύτην? Cf. my suggestion on *Plat. Rep.* 405 B (*Platonica*, p. 98).

ib. 6. καὶ μὴν ἡ ἄλλη αἰκία καὶ ἡ ἰσομοιρία τῶν κακῶν ἔχουσά τινα ὁμῶς τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν κούφισιν, οὐδ' ὥς ῥαδία ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔδοξάζετο.

ἡ ἄλλη does not make much sense, for the situation has been pretty comprehensively stated, and the point of 6 applies as much to what is described in 5 as to anything else. ἡ ἰσομοιρία again cannot mean *the universality*, and is

not fit to be coupled with ἡ αἰκία. ἡ ἰ. could not be relieved by τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν, for to all intents and purposes it is just τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν itself, the same thing in one word. Did Thucydides write something like καὶ μὴν ἡ ὅλη αἰκία ἔχουσα τινὰ ὅμως τῇ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῇ ἰσομοιρίᾳ τῶν κακῶν κούφισιν, or τό and τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν? There are many cases of the confusion of ἄλλος and ὅλος. The use of αἰκία here is well paralleled by Soph. O.C. 748.

77. 3. αἱ δὲ ξυμφοραὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν δὴ φοβοῦσιν.

οὐ κατ' ἀ. cannot mean *being undeserved* or *our undeserved misfortunes*. The resemblance to ταῖς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν νῦν κακοπαθείαις is merely accidental. If too that were the sense, this clause should have come first with μέν and ἡ ἐλπίς . . . τοῦ μέλλοντος second with δέ. The necessary and quite good meaning is that their troubles do not alarm him as much as in a sense they ought; he has more confidence that things will improve than the situation exactly justifies or may be thought to justify. The phrase is slightly paradoxical.

78. 1. Read ταῦτά for τοιαῦτα. Cf. on 6. 87. 3. In 1. 131. 1 Dobree's ταῦτά seems necessary.

80. 4. ὥσπερ ἡγείτο is rather odd. ὅπερ, *with which he was leading*? Dobree ὅπερ or ὅσπερ.

83. 4. καὶ <ἅμα> ἀναλαμβάνονσι κ.τ.λ.? ἅμα seems necessary to the sense and would easily be lost before ἀνα-. Cf. Dem. 18. 32 ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούετε κ.τ.λ. and very many other passages.

84. 3. δὴ for ἤδη? H may be due to N preceding.

86. 3. The construction would be easier if we read πείσαι for πείσας, though three infinitives are rather heavy.

ιβ. 5. τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν.

Those who think that in these well-known words νενομισμένην can mean 'practised by Nicias' overlook the fact that νομίζω in this sense, like νόμος, never refers to a single person, but always to a community of some kind. It is only when the word means *think* that it can be used of an individual. νενομισμένην therefore agrees with ἀρετήν. Nicias' whole way of living was directed to and by ἀρετὴ νενομισμένη, what opinion and usage declared to be excellence.

87. 4. Probably χαλεποί. Cf. 14. 2 χαλεπαί . . . φύσεις ἄρξαι: 1. 20. 1 τὰ παλαιά . . . χαλεπὰ ὄντα . . . πιστεῦσαι: 1. 1. 3 σαφῶς εὑρεῖν . . . ἀδύνατα. But χαλεπόν may be right.

BOOK VIII.

1. 2. ὅπλιτων τε πολλῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ἡλικίας οἶαν κ.τ.λ.

Omit the second καί (as though the ἡλικία were quite distinct from hoplites and horse), comparing 7. 64. 1 οὔτε ναῦς . . . ἄλλας . . . οὔτε ὀπλιτῶν ἡλικίαν. Or καὶ <ἄλλης> ἡλικίας?

ἑώρων and ὀρώντες so close together are somewhat suspicious. One may

have grown out of the other, e.g. ὀρώντες from an original ἔχοντες. Cf. however *Ar. Pol.* 6. 7. 1321 a 37-39.

7. 1. Read ἐπειγόντων. The improper form ἐπειγομένων is due to ἐπιγιγνομένου just preceding.

8. 1. With ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φ. should not a participle be introduced, e.g. ἀντιλέγοντες? Cf. 45. 4 ἀντιλέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τ.?

ib. 4. καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ἀ. ἀδυνασίαν seems a questionable phrase. <τὴν> τῶν? Or καταφρονήσαντες <καὶ καταγνόντες> τῶν? Cf. *Xen. Hell.* 1. 7. 33 προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας.

27. 2. I am inclined to think that ἔξεστιν and ἔσται are both right, and that with the latter there stood originally something like ἡ μάχη.

46. 2. εὐτελέστερα δὲ τὰδ' εἶναι Madvig for τὰ δεινά. Has it been noticed that in *Dem.* 22. 61 the reverse mistake is made by S and other MSS., which give τὸδ' εἶναι against the necessary τὸ δεῖνα of A?

εὐτελέστερα hardly makes sense, and Herwerden's λυσιτελέστερα is probable.

ib. 5. τὰς Φοινίσσας φάσκων ναῦς ἥξειν.

Perhaps ἄξειν. Cf. 46. 1, 59, 78, 81. 3, 87. 2, 88.

48. 4. εὐπορον (εὐλογον Naber) perhaps due to εὐπορα above and εὐπορον in 3.

ib. 5. ὀποτέρας?

ib. 7. καὶ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐπισταμένας τὰς πόλεις σαφῶς αὐτοὺς εἰδέναι (ἔφη) ὅτι οὕτω νομίζουσι.

παρά is only used in this way of persons or of things distinctly personified, and παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων from facts themselves can hardly be justified. Stahl περὶ αὐτῶν τῷ ἔργῳ, which is better, though not, I think, precisely right. Read rather παρ' αὐτῶν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιστάμενος, αὐτῶν being the states or their peoples spoken of in §§ 5, 6 (αὐτούς twice). Cf. 7. 48. 4 οὐκ οὖν βούλεσθαι (ἔφη) αὐτός γε ἐπιστάμενος τὰς Ἀ. φύσεις κ.τ.λ.

54. 2. ὅπη ἂν . . . ἔχειν?

56. 3. δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο . . . ὥς πεπεισμένῳ Τ. καὶ βουλομένῳ προσχωρήσαι τοὺς Ἀ. μὴ ἱκανὰ διδόναι.

ὥς gives a wrong sense, that the A. did not offer T. enough, as being (i.e. because they thought him) already persuaded and ready to join them. Clearly this was not the case. ὥς and καί sometimes get confused (cf. on 5. 76. 3), and καὶ πεπεισμένῳ, though persuaded, would be better.

Alcibiades asked such high terms on T.'s behalf (the story goes on) ὥστε τὸ τῶν Ἀ., καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὅτι αἰτοίη ξυγχωρούντων, ὅμως αἴτιον γενέσθαι. Here αἴτιον can hardly be right. αἴτιον of what? Nor is it really reasonable to say that the extravagant demands of one party make the other party responsible (for the thing falling through). αἴτιον should, I think, be ἐναντίον, just as two lines below οὐκ ἐναντιούμενων τῶν Ἀ. is used, not opposing the demand. In *Herod.* 8. 140 we have the exactly similar phrase ἦν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντίον γένηται, where ἀντίον is Valckenaer's correction of αἴτιον. In *Diod.* 19. 20. 1

one MS. has by mistake ἐναντίον for ἐν αἰτίαις. The error here was made easier by αἰτοίη three words before.

A little below the MSS. give ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι (or οὐκέτι τι) ἄλλ' ἄπορα νομίσαντες οἱ Ἄ. . . ἀπελθόντες κ.τ.λ. Hude οὐκέτι ἄλλ' ἢ ἄπορα after Madvig and Lindau. 'Post οὐκέτι pauca excidisse censeo' Stuart Jones. Comparing 7. 73. 3 ὡς δέ . . . ἐφαίνετο ἄπορα καὶ οὐκέτι ἔπειθεν αὐτούς, we may fairly read οὐκέτι ἔπειθεν, ἄλλ' ἄπορα κ.τ.λ. ἄπορα νομίζοντες occurs also 3. 16. 2 with no definite object.

57. 2. αὖ for the second οὖν? or is οὖν a mere duplicate?

58. 6. ἐφ' ἐαντοῖς for ἐπ' αὐτοῖς is hard to justify, unless we change Λ. δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξ. to datives. Cf. Ar. de Memor. 2. 455 a 21 καθάπερ τοῖς βάλλουσιν οὐκέτι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ στήσαι.

60. 3. ἑώρων οὐκέτι . . . οἶόν τε εἶναι is doubtful syntax. ἑώρων <ὡς> οὐκέτι οἶόν τε ἂν εἶη? Cf. on 6. 12. 1.

62. 2. Is not a numeral missing after ὦν καί? (as probably in 25. 1). So too, I think, in 69. 3 with Αἰγυνητῶν and 95. 2 with ναῦς. Cf. on 5. 2. 2 above.

63. 4. ἐσκέψαντο with an infinitive is so strange that perhaps something has been lost, e.g. <καὶ ἐδόκει δεῖν> Ἄлк. κ.τ.λ.

64. 1. The compound ἐγκαθιστάναι would ease the construction.

66. 2. τοσαύτην for τοιαύτην. Cf. on 7. 28. 3.

69. 1. ἦσαν γάρ for ἦσαν δέ?

71. 1. οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν and οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάζειν are probably to be treated like the double ἐξενρεῖν in 66. 3. The first ἦ. is not very suitable and may have taken the place of some other word, e.g. ὁμονοεῖν. τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν, if omitted altogether, would not be missed; and it may be a case of words getting into the text twice, once in the wrong place.

Thucydides couples αὐτοβοεῖ with ἐλεῖν in 62. 2, 2. 81. 4, 3. 113. 6, and it may be conjectured that αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν <ἐλεῖν> should be read here.

73. 2. Read the aorist μεταβαλόμενοι.

75. 3. Cf. Herod. 2. 13. 6 ὕδατος ἀποστροφή.

86. 3. τῶν πεντακισχιλίων πάντες is not good Greek; τῶν π. μετέχειν is doubtful Greek and bad sense. Perhaps something like τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ὅτι οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι πάντες . . . μεθέξουσιν. In Ar. Pol. 6. 3. 1290 a 4 the genitive is really due to ἐλάττω and πλείω.

ib. 4. καὶ δοκεῖ Ἄ. πρῶτον τότε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἔλασσον τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι.

As this could hardly be called the first time (6. 15. 4 and foll. chh.), and as καὶ οὐδ. ἔλ. is added somewhat oddly, there is probably something wrong. δοκεῖ Ἄ. πρότερόν τε καὶ τότε οὐδ. ἔλ.? πρῶτος and πρότερος are constantly confused.

89. 3. οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐλασσούμενος.

Agreeing with the contention in Grote's long note that τῶν ὁμοίων is masculine, and that the people at large, not the ὀλίγοι and ὅμοιοι, are said to be responsible in a democracy for one of this class being defeated, I draw the conclusion that ἀπὸ ought to be ὑπὸ. ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων does not refer to

successful rivals, but to the whole body which selects, for even in a democracy the competitors themselves may all belong to 'the few.'

90. 4. τοῖν has been suggested for τὸν (ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι), and rightly, I think; but αὐτοῖν should be read too for αὐτόν, i.e. ἐπ' αὐτοῖν γὰρ τοῖν . . . τὸν ἕτερον.

92. 9. τῷ ἀληθεῖ is clearly right, not τῷ πλήθει. Cf. τῷ εἰκότι 6. 18. 4, perhaps τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ 5. 7. 3.

ib. 11. εἶναι might be added to ἄν, which certainly cannot stand alone.

94. 3. ὥς τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου μείζονος [ἧ] ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ ἑκάς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ὄντος.

The scholiast condemns ἧ. ἴδιος πόλεμος can hardly be right, for the word πόλεμος is not applicable to the στάσις then existing at Athens. This involved no fighting and did not amount to civil 'war'; πόλεμος moreover always means war with foreigners.

Here, as in 7. 31. 4 (see above), I think πόνου should be read for πολέμου. An ἴδιος πόνος would be one with which nobody but the Athenians had anything to do, e.g. civil strife; a πόνος ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, e.g. an attack on the Piraeus, would not be ἴδιος in this sense, because a foreign enemy brought it about—to say nothing of the fact that it was a πόνος for the foreign enemy too.

If we liked to alter the order of words, we could retain ἧ by reading ὥς μείζονος ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἧ τοῦ ἰδίου πόνου, the genitive after ἧ being right by the usual attraction. Cf. however 1. 136. 4 ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρον. The omission of ἧ is better.

96. 4. ὅπερ δὴ (for ἄν)?

101. 2. The cause of the erroneous περαιοῦνται seems to be ἀντιπέρας adjoining.

104. 5. For ἀσθενέσι read ἀσθενεῖ, agreeing with τῷ μέσῳ.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

THEOCRITEA.

- i. 109. *ώραῖος χῶδωνις ἐπεὶ καὶ μῆλα νομεύει*
 καὶ πτώκας βάλλει καὶ θηρία πάντα διώκει.

Daphnis has taunted Aphrodite with Anchises ; he goes on to Adonis as a still greater disgrace. 'Fair is Adonis also, *though* he is only a shepherd, not even an oxherd.' ἐπεὶ is common enough in this sense in latish writers, or we may supply an ellipse : 'I mention Adonis, because——' Then the reference to his hunting is also intended to vex her ; Daphnis speaks ironically, as if he did not know that Adonis was killed while hunting.

J. H. Voss and Wüstemann think the whole clause to be ironical, which seems impossible.

i. 139. *ἔβα ῥόον.* See C.Q. for July, pp. 176 sqq. I have always thought that ῥόον must here stand for *κατὰ ῥόον*, perhaps a bit of nautical slang, like *πρύμναν* for *ἐπὶ πρύμναν*. (Cf. schol. Thuc. i. 50). "He gave up struggling and drifted down stream to death."

- ii. 140. *καὶ ταχὺ χρώς ἐπὶ χρωτὶ πεπαίνεται, καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα*
 θερμότερ' ἢς ἢ πρόσθε.

'Were hotter than before!' What a thing to say ! Their faces were hotter than fire, *θερμότερον πυρὸς ἦθε*. Cf. xiv. 23, *εὐμαρέως κεν ἀπ' αὐτᾶς καὶ λύχρον ἄψας*.

θερμότερως were nearer the tradition, but comparative adverbs in *-ως* are not, I believe, used in hexameter verse.

- xii. 24. *ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὑπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφύσω.*

Qu. *φυσκία*, diminutive of *φύσκη*, a blister ? Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii. 90, 'Blistered be thy tongue for such a wish.'

- xxii. 66. *πυγμάχος, ἦ καὶ ποσσὶ θένων σκέλος ; ὄμματα δ' ὀρθά.*

The last three words are unintelligible, and the MSS. give two readings, *ὀρθά* and *ὀρθός*. Pollux asks whether he is to fight with fists only, or whether it is to be a contest in which you may use the feet as well, and then goes on to say something about the eyes. There is only one thing he *could* ask about them, whether gouging is to be permitted. The technical term for this is *ὀρύσσειν*. Must not Theocritus then have written *ὄμματ' ὀρύσσω* ? (*ὄμμα τ'* or *δ'* if you prefer it).

If he did, one can only suppose that the last five letters of the line were

lost altogether. ὀρθός, which looks an honest reading than ὀρθά, may be an attempt at deciphering an almost obliterated original.

I do not think Wilamowitz is right in reading *θένω*, but if he is we must substitute ὀρύσσω or ὀρύξω for the participle.

xxiii. 41. *κἂν νεκρῷ χάρισαι τὰ σὰ χεῖλεα. μή με φοβαθῆς·
οὐ δύναμαι εἶν σε, διαλλάξεις με φιλάσους.*

Read surely οὐ δύναμαι δάκνειν (or δακέειν) σε. The sentiment is half pathetic, half jocose. 'You needn't be afraid, I can't bite you; and it will stop my anger.' It is a reference, too, to the saying νεκρὸς οὐ δάκνει (Plut. *Pompeius*, 77 ad fin.). Cf. also xii. 25.

xxvii. 60. *ἄλλην ἀμπεχόνην τῆς σῆς τοι μείζονα δώσω.
μείζονα is absurd; read τοι ἀμείνονα or τὰμείνονα.*

ARTHUR PLATT.

BOETHVS OF SIDON.

THE study of post-Aristotelian philosophy is constantly confused by the perplexing way in which the names of philosophers recur. Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, is sufficiently well known not to be confused with either Zeno the Eleatic or the later Stoic, Zeno of Tarsus, a disciple of Chrysippus; but when we come to less distinguished names the opportunity of error is greater. If two philosophers of the same name are prominent members of different schools, there ought to be no obscurity, but in an age of eclecticism one school will sometimes adopt doctrines from another, and so make classification difficult.

The case of Boethus is perplexing, firstly, because there were several philosophers of that name; secondly, because the two best known seem both to have been natives of Sidon; thirdly, because of these two the Stoic grafted Peripatetic doctrine on to his system. As famous an authority as Zeller was either confused about the name, or did not succeed in explaining his views clearly.¹

In the English edition (*Eclectics*, 1883), the index separates Boethus from Boethus of Sidon, implying that Boethus the Stoic and Boethus Sidonius the Peripatetic are distinct persons, but in *op. cit.* p. 35 we read, 'We know that he (i.e. the Stoic) . . . approximated to the Peripatetic doctrine, so as to imperil the purity of his Stoicism.' As no dates are given, the reader might be led into supposing that the philosopher here mentioned is identical with the one who is described later as a Peripatetic; and though the index separates the two, its omission of the title Sidonius in the former case tacitly implies that the words 'of Sidon' are enough to distinguish the Peripatetic, as belonging to him only.

It is, however, generally believed that the Stoic as well was a native of Sidon. This supposition is based first on a passage in [Philo], *περὶ ἀφθαρσίας κόσμου*, § 10, p. 497, which refers to Βόηθος ὁ Σιδωνίος καὶ Παναίτιος as distinguished leaders of Stoicism who denied the theory of the conflagration of the world.²

¹ Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* III. i. 46. i.

² Bake attached great importance to this passage owing to the vulgate reading current in his time, Βόηθος γοῦν καὶ Ποσιδώνιος καὶ Παναίτιος, ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς δόγμασιν ἰσχυρότεροι, ἅτε θεόληπτοι ὄντες, πρὸς θεϊότερον δόγμα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας

τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἡτομόλησαν. But καὶ Ποσιδώνιος proves to have been an attempt of Turnebus to restore a corrupt MS. reading, and Bernays recovered from the Medicean the now generally accepted ὁ Σιδωνίος.

Diels, however, has completely shattered the reputation of the pseudo-Philo, the author of this treatise, whom he impolitely terms a *nebulo*.¹ Further evidence is therefore required.

The second alleged reference is in the *Life of Aratus*, Buhl's *Aratus*, vol. 2, p. 443. Βόηθος δὲ ὁ Σιδόνιος ἐν τῷ α' ¹ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὐχ Ἑσιόδου ἀλλ' Ὀμήρου ζηλωτὴν γεγονέναι. This Boethus is not here called a Stoic, and from an isolated sentence of literary criticism we cannot judge of a man's philosophical opinions; so that this passage is inconclusive, even though the life of Aratus may be of respectable antiquity and authority;² and even if it is derived from Geminus, the chronology of Geminus' life is uncertain, and Boethus the Peripatetic, the fellow-student of Strabo, may have been writing in his lifetime.

The last and most important reference is in the *Index Herculanensis*, Col. LI. Lines 7-9 are thus printed by Comparetti:³

ος. Ἀπολλοδ(ω)[ρος Σέλευ
(κ)ε(ν)[ς] ἀπο (Τ)[ιγριος Βοη
θος (Σ)ιδ(ω)[νιος . . .

where [] indicates the conjectural filling up of lacunae, () letters which are incomplete or of which only some traces remain.

If we restrict ourselves to the letters about which there was no doubt in Comparetti's mind, we have remaining only *θος. ιδ . . .* as the name of a head, or possibly two heads, of the Stoic School, who succeeded Apollodorus.

von Arnim⁴ has collected eleven other passages in which this philosopher is mentioned; in nine of these he is called simply by his name; in two passages of Cicero (*de div.* I. 13; II. 47) the epithet *Stoicus* is added; nowhere is he called *Sidonius*.

However, though the evidence either of the *Index Herculanensis* or of the questionable Philo would be weak in itself, the apparent agreement of the two is strong testimony in favour of the reading *Σιδώνιος* or *Σιδόνιος* being correct in both, and Comparetti concludes reasonably that 'Sidon had two Boethi, one a Stoic, the other a Peripatetic, just as it had two Zenos, a Stoic and an Epicurean.'

The heresies of the Stoic Boethus may be summarized from von Arnim's extracts, as follows: he admitted four *criteria*—Mind, Sensation, Appetency, and Knowledge; he stated that the essence of God is the sphere of the fixed stars; he denied that the Universe was a living creature; he denied the *ἐκπύρωσις*.

There remains only the question of the time when Boethus the Stoic lived. The approximate date of the Peripatetic is fixed by Strabo, who mentions among distinguished Sidonians of his own time Βόηθός τε ᾧ

¹ Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.*, p. 107.

² Maass attributes it to Sporos of Nicaea, first to second century A.D.

³ Comparetti, *Papyro inedito erculanense*, in *Rivista di Filologia* (Turin) III. 523 (1875).

⁴ *Stoic. Vet. Fr.* III. 265.

συνεφιλοσοφήσαμεν τὰ Ἀριστοτέλεια καὶ Διόδωτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ (Strabo xvi. p. 757).¹

A passage from Diogenes has been cited to prove that the Stoic was a contemporary of Chrysippus, viz. Diog. Laert. vii. 54. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Βόηθος κριτήρια πλείονα ἀπολείπει, νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ ὄρεξιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην· ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος διαφερόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ λόγου κριτήριά φησιν εἶναι αἴσθησιν καὶ πρόληψιν. Comparetti, taking these words to imply that Boethus and Chrysippus were contemporary, or Boethus the earlier of the two, decides that the passage is either corrupt or refers to an earlier Stoic also named Boethus, for a contemporary of Chrysippus could not be the successor of Apollodorus mentioned in his papyrus. It is unnecessary, however, to admit this third man, though Luthe as late as 1890 asserted a belief in him (*die Erkenntnisstheorie der Stoiker*, p. 22). Bake, a century ago, suggested that Diogenes did not mean to suggest, by διαφερόμενος, a dispute between two contemporaries; he was not thinking of chronology, but, as it were, arranging parallel extracts, with the comment 'Here Chrysippus does not agree with Boethus.' Susemihl (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1891) recognizes the tenability of Bake's theory, but thinks the translation forced, and supports the reading αὐτόν, which he justifies by showing that Chrysippus has, in the twelfth book of his *Physics*, quoted by Diogenes just before the present passage, made καταληπτικὴ φαντασία the criterion, and now in the first book περὶ λόγου sets up other criteria. We may remember that such ἐναντιολογία—self-contradiction—of Chrysippus is much insisted on by Galen.

Boethus the Stoic, therefore, may keep his place after Apollodorus, a successor of Panaetius.

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¹ His views were unorthodox on some points (Ammonius in Arist. *An. Pr.* i. 45). There was also an Academic Boethus (*Ind. Herc.* col. 28), but he considerably selected a different birth-

place, as far as we know. Boethus, a compiler of Platonic λέξεις, is mentioned by the Patriarch Photius (*Bibl.* 154, 155).

XPH AND ΔΕΙ.

I.

The words *χρή* and *δεῖ*, with their inflectional and dialectic variations, are less definite and stable in their semantic range than the other Greek expressions for the general ideas of necessity, obligation, or propriety. Their semantic boundaries varied with the dialect, province of literature, and period—which cannot, indeed, be entirely separated. From Homer to Aristotle there is a steady trend, so plain that the slight notice taken of it is rather surprising. Everyone sees that the two are sometimes differentiated; yet it seems to be loosely taken for granted that they are substantially equivalent, and that either may, almost anywhere, be taken as an equivalent of the verbal in *-τέος*. The statements in Liddell and Scott under *χρή* present an admirable confusion of all periods and styles, and J. H. H. Schmidt,¹ with no mention of dates, makes a distinction that resembles a reversal of the true relation. But in fact we have here an interesting example of historical development of two synonyms, never identical, one gradually crowding the other out—the sort of thing that goes on in every language from beginning to end of its life. The course of that development is what this paper will endeavour to set forth.

The briefest comparison of *falloir* and *devoir*, *müssen* and *sollen*, and our *must*, *shall*, *should*, and *ought* will show how subtly even languages closely akin differ in the lines of distinction they draw in the use of these common words, and how, within the same language, usage changes with time, in ways difficult even for the native to follow in retrospect.² A few reminders of present English usage will help to clear our ground a little.

That *must* is in general distinct from *ought* and *should* is obvious. It asserts a necessity, implies that the matter cannot be otherwise, the source and degree of compulsion varying widely with the situation. On the other hand, *ought* and *should* indicate obligation of a moral nature, resting on the sense of fitness, expediency, propriety, or duty. These last terms themselves imply a wide range; and the sense of such obligation may also become a necessity, expressed by *must*, for one who feels it. Here is a place where the two groups

¹ *Synonymik der gr. Sprache*, III. p. 704 sq. 'Der Unterschied liegt jedoch so, dass *δεῖ* eine viel nähere Beziehung auf wirkliche Pflichten hat, namentlich auf solche der Gottheit gegenüber . . . dass *δεῖ* bezeichne das der höheren Anordnung entsprechende, während *χρή* mehr

das der Zeit und den Umständen entsprechende bedeutet.'

² A recent study of this kind is 'Shall and Will—an Historical Study,' by Professor C. B. Bradley, in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* XLII. (1911), pp. 5—31.

overlap. *Should* and *ought* are similar in origin, both being petrified imperfects of verbs meaning *owe*. But *shall* ceased long ago to mean *owe*, in popular consciousness. We commonly think of it as an auxiliary used to form a future with a modal colour, and even this faint remnant of the original force of *shall* is in some danger of being lost. Yet in a few phrases more of that original meaning survives, as in the imperative future, 'Thou shalt not.' German *sollen* retains more of this earlier force. *Should*, now a present, remains in circulation (in a principal clause, when not a mere auxiliary) for a modified form of the notion of owing. But *owe* is in daily use, and the imperfect *ought*, likewise become a present, has not lost all its earlier force, even though another imperfect *owed* has been formed, and speakers are hardly conscious of the connexion between *ought* and *owe*. Thus one may explain the fact that *ought* is ordinarily stronger than *should*, and is more likely to be employed when distinctly moral obligation is to be emphasized.

A few examples will illustrate transitions. 'It must be so; Plato, thou reasonest well.' Here the compulsion is the speaker's feeling that the reasoning is cogent—a common type, the inferential *must*, Plato's ἀνάγκη, ἀναγκαῖον. If one says to a child, 'You must not do that,' *must* is the requirement of authority, which has many shades and degrees. 'It must never be forgotten that he was a pagan.' This will serve as an example of what we may call conditional necessity, which also takes many forms. If some end is to be attained (here perhaps justice in estimating a character), something is declared to be a necessary prerequisite. Not far removed is the *must* of moral obligation, as 'I must work the works of him that sent me.' 'A judge must not take bribes.' Without context one cannot be certain whether this *must* is the moral, the authoritative, or the logical; whether it means that an upright judge's self-respect forbids taking a bribe, or that the law forbids it, or that the one who accepts a bribe is thereby no judge, but an interested party. All three would be expressed in Attic by a verbal in -τέος, by δεῖ, or by ἀνάγκη, according to the degree of emphasis intended; position and particles may give additional colour.

When the subject of *ought* is a person, the appeal to the moral sense, or the reason and sense of propriety of a free moral being, is usually clear. In such a sentence as 'These things ought not so to be,' or 'This ought to be done at once,' a moral obligation is stated, but the person subject to the obligation is left to be inferred. One can hardly read a statement of moral obligation into a sentence like 'He ought to have been born rich'—hardly even a reference to reason or the sense of propriety, but only to the sense of appropriateness or fitness. What is meant is that so-and-so's tastes and inclinations do not befit poverty; that in some sense the possession of wealth would better accord with such a character. We have here in fact a colloquial extension, a considerable attenuation, of *ought*, which is however quite natural. Again, the French say, 'Le train doit partir à telle heure,' and we cannot, in the same sense, say, 'The train ought to start at 3.20.' But we do say, 'The train is due,' or 'ought to be here;' if it is late in starting we may

say, 'The train ought to have started ten minutes ago,' or 'We ought to be moving.' These all involve the same thought. The printed time-table is taken as establishing an order; the operators of the railway have morally bound themselves to conform *κατὰ δύναμιν* to the order they have established. In Greek thought the conception of divine, or at least superhuman, apportionment, *μοῖρα*, establishing an order of a religious or moral nature, gave rise to similar expressions. In Biblical English, 'Ought not Christ [R.V. behaved it not] to have suffered these things,' is of similar character; the Scriptures had predicted, the disciples should therefore have expected, what had occurred. *ἔδει* is the original here; an Attic writer before Aristotle would probably have used *χρῆν*.

The foregoing review of our usage is very summary, but will serve to show how closely related, and yet distinct, the synonyms are, and that we must constantly look to context and the situation in order to detect the nature of the obligation intended. We must expect a similar play of relations and distinctions in Greek; and we should take it for granted that Greek readers felt discriminations, as we do in English, at least of colour and atmosphere, even in the few cases where one of the pair might have been substituted for the other without impropriety.

Verbals in *-τέος* are not Homeric; but after they appear we find them used in all the senses just pointed out for *must*, *ought*, and *should*, when no emphasis is laid on the nature of the requirement. *χρή* and *δεῖ*, on the other hand, discriminate; vaguely at first, then with increasing clearness, then with gradual contraction of *χρή*, until it almost disappears, leaving *δεῖ*, without discrimination, in possession of the field. That, in outline, is the course of development which we are to trace.

II.

In Homer *δεῖ* occurs in this form once only, I 337 *τί δὲ δεῖ πολεμιζέμεναι Τρώεσσιν | Ἀργείους*; Ebeling translates *opus est*. In Σ 100 *ἐμείο δ' ἔδησεν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα γενέσθαι*, *ἔδησε* has the meaning and construction of Attic *ἐδέησε* *had need of, caruit*. This is all we see of *δεῖ* in Homer. It states a need, a lack, of something thought desirable. This earliest quotable meaning is the starting-point of all extensions and developments, and never ceases to be frequent. An Athenian of Plato's time, if he thought about it at all, must have been conscious of this as the primary sense of the word. On the other hand *χρή*, with its variations *χρεώ*, *χρειώ*, not only has in Homer this meaning *opus est*, but covers the whole field of *must*, *ought*, *should*, *is necessary*, *it behoves*, *is fitting*, *is the divine will*. *προσῆκει* does not occur, nor *πρέπει* in the sense *is fitting*. As an example of *χρειώ* we may take the familiar passage A 341 *εἴ ποτε δὴ αὖτε | χρεῖώ ἐμείο γένηται ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύναι*. *χρή* in the same sense is illustrated in α 124 *ὅττεό σε χρή*. For the rest it will suffice to quote the meanings enumerated in Seiler-Capelle: '*es ist nötig, nötig, es braucht, soll, muss, man muss*,

es ist billig, es ziemt, es frommt. The imperfect (ἐ)χρήν is later. That something ought to be which is not, or ought to have been which was not, is expressed by the imperfect (or aorist) of ὀφείλω (ὀφέλλω) *owe*, with an infinitive. Examples are A 353 τιμὴν πέρ μοι ὀφέλλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξαι. K 117 sq. νῦν ὀφέλεν κατὰ πάντας ἀριστηίας πονέεσθαι | λισσόμενος· χρεῖω γὰρ ἰκάνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός.

Obscure as the etymological relations of χρή are, it would seem that there must have been a connexion with χρέος *need and debt*, with χράω (χρέω, χρεῖω), *give oracular response* (*Odyssey and Hymns*), *mid. inquire of an oracle* (as in θ 79-82), and later χρησμός, as well as with χράομαι *use*, and χρήμα *useful thing*. There is no difficulty in supposing a natural connexion, in earlier thought, between all these forms of human interest; but such hypotheses have little bearing on our purpose, except in one particular. In post-Homeric development the aspect of χρή which persisted, which χρή retained as long as it retained anything, was that which would most easily connect it with the oracle, as the expression of settled religious and moral order and the divine will.

In Pindar also δεῖ occurs but once, *Ol.* vi. 28 πρὸς Πιτάναν δὲ παρ' Εὐρώτα πόρον δεῖ σάμερον ἐλθεῖν. *Must* is our natural word. To indicate the subject of his song the poet adopts the figure of having a journey to make. The suggestion of moral obligation has no place in the word till far later. For χρή Rumpel gives the translations *opus est, oportet, decet*, with twenty-six references, now slightly increased by the new fragments. The range of meaning is nearly as wide as in Homer, but no genitive occurs with it. P. iv. 1 σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ | σταμεν is like the passage just quoted for δεῖ. In some cases it is quite impossible to say whether *it behoves, is fitting, ought, should, or must* is the more appropriate; χρή and the context admit any one of them. Poetic breadth, inclusive generalization rather than precise detail, is Pindar's manner. In P. ii. 88 χρή δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν the idea of religious or moral obligation lies nearest, as also in N. xi. 47 κερδέων δὲ χρή μέτρον θηρενέμεν, and in P. iii. 59 and a few other passages. Is. iii. 7 εὐκλέων δ' ἔργων ἅποινα χρή μὲν ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἐσλόν is the type of several—'we should praise the good; it is right to give honour due,' and so on. πρέπον ἦν is the scholiast's paraphrase for ἐχρήν N. vii. 44. In the sense of *service due, debt*, χρέος occurs several times, also χρεῶν (sc. ἐστι) *oportet*. χρήν in the fragment of an enkomion for Theoxenos (123, 1), χρήν μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώτων δρέπεσθαι, θῦμε, σὺν ἀλικίᾳ, is *oportebat quidem* (but it is now too late). Also in the new Paian vi. 96 περὶ δ' ὑψικόμφῃ Ἑλένᾳ χρήν ἄρα Πέργαμον εὐρὺν αἰστώσαι σέλας αἰθόμενον πυρός we meet χρήν with the force of *it was fated*. While the range is wide, the tone of *oportet, decet* is beginning to prevail.

Bacchylides, with no instance of δεῖ and six of χρή, agrees with Pindar. For one χρή the sentence is mutilated; one is the *must* of Apollo's declaration of fate to Admetos (iii. 78), three are of the duty or propriety of praising desert, one (v. 164) of the propriety, since laments avail not, of confining speech to

what is within one's power. *χρεῖ[ος] μάχας* need of battle occurs once, and *χρέος* once is *thing*.

In Aischylos the situation is changed a little. *δεῖ* appears twenty-four or twenty-five times, and the only definition in Dindorf's lexicon is *opus est*. In eleven of these passages the genitive is present. In the remaining passages the infinitive is expressed or understood, and in all the thought is *there is need* or *occasion*. There is still no suggestion of an appeal to the moral or religious sense. The imperfect does not occur, nor *δέη* (subjv.), *δέοι*, *δεήσει*, for which Pindar also found no occasion. On the other hand, *χρή* with inflectional variations occurs about sixty times, and a restriction of its range on that side which *δεῖ* occupies is becoming clearer. Dindorf's translations are *oportet* and *debere*. There are five instances of *χρήν*, all in *Ag.* and *Ch.*, all without *ἄν*, and all with the clear sense of *oportebat*—as *Ch.* 907 ἐπεὶ φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν δὲ *χρήν* φιλεῖν στυγεῖς. Several examples of *χρή*, it is true, would admit *δεῖ* as well, with a slightly different turn. One is *Suppl.* 938 τί σοι λέγειν *χρή* τοῦνομα; in more than half, however, the meaning falls within the range of *it behoves, is fitting, seemly*, approaching on the one side the notion of moral obligation, on the other that of *it is better, there is good reason*. Among the remainder, in eight or nine cases a person in authority, or one giving directions or advice, uses *χρή* where German would use *sollen*, of future action of the person addressed; and Dindorf gives three examples, to which three or four may be added, where *χρή* (one *χρείη* of indirect quotation) signifies *is destined*. *χρεών* occurs six times. In *Ch.* 930 τὸ μὴ *χρεών* πάθε it is *id quod oportet*; in *Pr.* 996 *is destined*.

In Sophokles the matter has become more complicated. The number of occurrences of both words, in a somewhat larger number of lines, is more than twice that in the elder dramatist. The ratio of occurrences of *δεῖ* to those of *χρή*, in their various forms, is about the same, something like 1 : 2. But *δεῖ* has encroached farther on the original sphere of *χρή*. *ἔδει*, *δεῖν*, and *δέον* make their appearance, and the tendency to specialization of *χρή* is increasing. Ellendt-Genthe and Dindorf in their lexicons translate *δεῖ* by both *opus est* and *oportet*. In more than four-fifths of the passages containing the form *δεῖ*, and in the single passage containing *δεῖν*, the meaning is clearly within the range of *opus est, must, circumstances make it needful*. In eight cases the genitive is present; elsewhere the infinitive is expressed or understood. But in a few cases *δεῖ* may be brought within the range of *should* or *ought*. An example is *Phil.* 583 λέγονθ' ἃ μὴ *δεῖ*. (Cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 342 πορθεῖν ἃ μὴ *χρή*). Among the seven instances of *ἔδει* are two or three more of this kind. One is *Phil.* 418 τούσδε γὰρ μὴ *ζῆν* *ἔδει*, another is *O.T.* 1185 οὕς τέ μ' οὐκ *ἔδει* κτανών. In one instance, *O.T.* 825 γάμοις με *δεῖ* μητρὸς ζυγῆναι, *δεῖ* is the *must* of destiny and oracular prediction—a meaning which Dindorf notes as Herodotean, and which we found to belong to *χρή* in Homer, Pindar, and Aischylos, as it does elsewhere in Sophokles. The neuter participle occurs twice in the phrase *ἐς δέον*, and once in the phrase *πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος*, both easily

connected with the primary sense of *δεῖ*, but taking on that of fitness or propriety.

χρεών occurs eighteen times, always as a neuter substantive, having the same range of meaning as *χρή*, for which it seems to be mainly a metrically convenient substitute. *χρέος* occurs four times, denoting *thing*, *debt* or *fault*, *duty*. The imperfect (ἐ)*χρήν* is used of destiny a few times, of unfulfilled duty (without *ἄν*) about as often—of something which ought to be but is not, or ought to have been but was not. The remaining occurrences of *χρή*, *χρήναι*, *χρεῖη*, some eighty in number, are distributed as to meaning very much as in Aischylos, the great majority clearly within the range of *it behoves*, *is fitting* or *seemly*, *one ought*. As before remarked, German *sollen* is sometimes more exact than either English word. The range in *O.T.*, or almost any play, gives a fair notion of the range in all.

For Euripides my full notes cover but five plays (*Alkestis*, *Medea*, *Hippolytos*, *Iphigeneia T.*, *Bacchae*), enough to show that his usage is not notably different from that of Sophokles. He is fonder of *χρεών* as parallel to *χρή*, and τοῦ *χρεών* appears in *Hip.* 1256 beside *μοίρας* in the same line, where it is difficult to see any distinction. (ἐ)*χρήν* is nearly always *oportebat*; in ἀ μή σε *δεῖ* (*Alk.* 63) *δεῖ* is *oportet*. In all tragedy it should be noted that both *δεῖ* and *χρή* seldom appear in the lyric.

Aristophanes I pass over, because the peculiar shifts of tone, the mixture of common speech, of joke, and of solemn parody, render him less instructive for our purpose—or, at least, greatly increase the difficulty of drawing the right conclusions.

III.

The collections in Diels' *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* yield a few interesting facts. In Anaximander's κατὰ τὸ *χρεών*, as Mr. Cornford says,¹ 'are united the conceptions of Fate and Right; it means a power that ordains both what *must* be and what *ought* to be.' This conception is fundamental to our whole discussion. That Herakleitos, in our scanty fragments, has *χρή* five times and *δεῖ* once, and that Parmenides likewise has *χρή*, *χρεώ*, *χρήν*, *χρέος*, *χρεών* (twice), *χρεόν* (and no *δεῖ*), well scattered over the Homeric range, was to be expected. That the more extensive remnants of Empedokles have *δεῖ* once only, and *χρή* not at all may be accidental; but Philolaos and Archytas, in prose, each repeat Empedokles in that regard. The scanty remnants of Anaxagoras, on the other hand, furnish *χρή δοκεῖν* and *γινώσκειν χρή*. *Must* seems to be demanded, but he may have chosen the less positive form of statement. Finally, nearly 300 fragments given by Diels for Demokritos, largely short sentences of the nature of moral precepts, furnish nine cases of *δεῖ* (including one *δέη* and one *ἐς δέον*) and eleven of *χρή*, with seven of *χρεών* and one of *χρήναι*—about 1 : 2, as in tragedy. And the differentiation is com-

¹ *From Religion to Philosophy*, p. 11.

plete. τὰ χρῆ ἐόντα (256) are *duties*; *Pflichten* is Diels' word. δεῖ is always *must, there is need or occasion*; χρῆ etc. always express obligation of a moral sort. Here, in one Ionic prose writer, limited by accident in a peculiar way, yet not so scanty but that the evidence may be significant, the rule is unbroken which Attic prose before Aristotle closely approaches.

For Herodotos my notes cover the first three books and the last three; the full evidence from the rest could hardly alter conclusions very much. First to be noted is the gain of δεῖ over χρῆ. Including all the modes, and χρεόν as an equivalent of χρῆ, but not including the participle δέων either in the sense of *lacking*, with a genitive, or in the phrases ἐς δέον, ἐν δέοντι, the two words are about equally frequent, fifty to sixty each in the six books, δεῖ having a slight preponderance. The differentiation is clear, but not complete, notably less complete in the first book than in all the later books. χράω is also fairly frequent (χρά, χρέωσα, χρήσειν, ἔχρησε, χρήσον, χρήσαντος, ἐκέχρητο); also χρέος *debt*.

In i. 8 and 120 χρῆν is *it was fated*; the usual Herodotean word in the other books is δεῖ (as ἔδει ii. 161, viii. 53; δέοι ii. 139; δεῖν viii. 62), occasionally χρεόν (as viii. 141, ix. 42). χρῆν in i. 186 means *was necessary* (to cross with boats), in i. 196 *was required* (to furnish sureties), which are ordinarily expressed in Herodotos as in Attic prose by ἔδει, though in viii. 129 we again find χρῆν in the same sense. Occasionally both appear side by side, with no mark of difference. In i. 57 εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν is repeated at the end of the same long sentence by εἰ τοῦτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν. The thought is, *if it is proper to infer* (from existing Pelasgians). In vii. 11 we have εἰ χρῆ σταθμώσασθαι in this sense, and in vii. 214 τοῦτο γὰρ τῷδε χρῆ σταθμώσασθαι, as in Soph. O.T. 1110 εἰ χρῆ τι κάμει . . . σταθμᾶσθαι. In i. 11 ὥς ἂν μὴ . . . ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ we have a parallel to ἂ μὴ σε δεῖ of Euripides, cited above; χρῆ was the more usual word in Herodotos as in all Attic authors. In ii. 133 οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαί νιν τὸ χρεὼν ἦν ποιεῖν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἕτα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν κ.τ.λ. one can hardly demonstrate a distinction. But the usual distinction, with δεῖν in the place of emphasis, gives just the meaning needed to save the credit of the oracle. 'He had not done what he ought to have done; Egypt *needed* a hundred and fifty years of suffering, and his predecessors had understood this and done their part; he had failed the divine powers and deserved his fate.' We cannot make this δεῖν signify the *must* of oracular prediction; that he could not have frustrated.

But in spite of a few cases where distinctions are not clear, even in the first book δεῖ generally signifies *there is lack, or need, one must*, while χρῆ is more often *oportet*. In ii., iii., vii.-ix. exceptions to the rule are in any case few. If we allow the legitimate presumption that a distinction, certainly usual, was probably intended in most cases of doubt, exceptions are very few—none, I think, in iii., vii.-ix. beyond those cited above. In ix. 65 δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἢ θεὸς αὐτὴ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο the context, and his feeling on such subjects, as explained in ii. 65, quite explain this mild *must*

at the end of the clause, where it escapes all stress. In i. 42 ἐπεὶ τε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι) the *must* is explained by ὀφείλω . . . χρηστοῖσι. (In vii. 16γ ὀφείλω recurs: 'the dream *ought* to appear to me as well as to you;' and in vii. 152 'I am *bound* (ὀφείλω) to tell what is told, but am not bound to believe it.') In i. 69 ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆν *was sie sagen sollten* is of a familiar type. The obligation is that imposed by one who is in a position to give advice or commands—an obligation close to the *must* of authority, but less imperative in tone. Correspondingly χρῆ in independent clauses may in some situations mean no more than *it is better, one may fairly*, where *ought* would be too strong, and *should* may not be idiomatic, but *oportet* or *decet* would seem in place. In i. 108 ὦ βασιλεῦ . . . εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρῆ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδείως, if we interpret χρῆ in the light of general Herodotean usage, *it is of course my duty*, we have the proper deferential tone, more suitable than that of *must*, which this context, taken alone, would equally permit. Finally we may note again that we have hitherto found no ἔδει or (ἐ)χρῆν accompanied by ἄν.

For the difference between the first and the other books the readiest explanation is the difference in sources. For parts of the first these were earlier epics, under the influence of Homer's vocabulary, and earlier logographers. Sources of a date nearer his own time, with his own or other contemporary recasting of Egyptian accounts, would reflect the extension of δεῖ and the tendency to complete the differentiation. And we see that, apart from the distinction which is well established in Demokritos, χρῆ, by its history, carries with it associations of antiquity, of poetry, of higher moral tone. In contrast, δεῖ is more a prose word, associated with the logical, the commonplace, the non-emotional world; χρῆ has about it something of the elevated, the religious atmosphere. The associated infinitive, or the rest of the sentence, often harmonizes noticeably with such an atmosphere.

In Thukydides the numerical relation between δεῖ and χρῆ is about the same as in Herodotos. δεῖ has enlarged its inflection a little, though the present and imperfect indicative outnumber all other forms together. The relative increase of speeches, argument, reflection, increases the frequency of both words. The genitive occurs often with δεῖ, and χρῆ has now quite given over the meaning *there is lack, need*; *opus est* is so prevailing and unmistakeable for δεῖ that not many cases call for discussion.

No less than twenty-two of the thirty-four instances of ἔδει are of the type seen in iv. 77, ἡμέρα δ' αὐτοῖς εἶρητο ἥ ἔδει ἅμα ταῦτα πράσσειν, where ἔδει denotes that the action was agreed upon, or was the effect of authoritative arrangement. This approaches the Herodotean type noted above (as τὰ λέγειν χρῆν, i. 69), but it is not quite the same. For where Thukydides wishes to express the more personal relation he also can use χρῆν, as in iv. 90, 4 Ἰπποκράτης δὲ ὑπομένων ἔτι καθίστατο φυλακὰς τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ προτεχίσμα, ὅσα ἦν ὑπόλοιπα, ὡς χρῆν ἐπιτελέσαι, or in vi. 57, ἡ διεκόσμη ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προῖέναι. The difference in tone is unmistakeable; nor is it

altogether fanciful to call it characteristic that the Athenian historian uses *χρῆν* in just this way comparatively little. The unemotional *ἔδει* for such strategic combinations is more like our colourless *were to do this, had been directed, were expected*. The requirements of other than military agreements are expressed by the same *ἔδει*, as i. 96, 1 *ἔταξαν ἅς τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ ἅς ναῦς*, and v. 60, 1 *τέσσαρας μῆνας, ἐν οἷς ἔδει ἐπιτελέσαι αὐτοὺς τὰ ῥηθέντα*, and v. 15, 2 *ποιοῦνται ἐνιαύσιον ἐκεχειρίαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδει ξυνιόντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ πλέονος χρόνου βουλευέσθαι*, and vi. 56, 2 *ἔδει ἄρξαι μὲν αὐτοὺς, συνεπαμύνειν δὲ ἐκείνους*, and vii. 8, 3 *φέροντες . . . τὰ γράμματα καὶ ὅσα ἔδει αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν*. In several of these twenty-two no doubt Herodotos would have written *χρῆν*. The only other examples of *δεῖ* that can raise any serious questions are a few of the present indicative, where the immediate context alone is not decisive. The most dubious, perhaps, is iii. 47, 5. Diodotos is pleading for Mytilene. In *οὐς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι* what sort of obligation is he stating? Is it the moral *ought*, which is quite applicable, or the logical *must* of an appeal to self-interest? Each reader may choose. To my mind the tone of the whole speech makes for the latter, wholly apart from the argument of overwhelming preponderance of usage, which creates a strong presumption unless a special context or some often recurring phrase points plainly the other way. As we have seen, that presumption sometimes reveals an unsuspected felicity or delicacy of expression, which is at once felt to be probable, even though not demonstrable.

Only once does *ἄν* appear with *ἔδει* (i. 74, 4) never with (ἐ)*χρῆν*.

About nine-tenths of the occurrences of *χρή* are in speeches, or in the indirect report of speeches, where the prevalent tone is that of deliberation and argument. *χρή* outnumbers all other forms; *χρήναι* stands next in frequency. In four-fifths or more of the examples no one would question that the obligation is of the *oportet* class; with others a question is possible, and we should expect old usage to continue alongside the new, especially in a style so austere and consciously archaic. It is surprising rather that the differentiation is so nearly complete.

Of course the *must* of fate is never expressed by either word; Thukydides had none of the Herodotean attitude touching oracles and the like. It has already been noted that the meaning *there is lack* or *need* is resigned to *δεῖ*. Deliberation about action in the near future is the prevailing tone of the setting; serious men are taking counsel on matters of the highest concern. Obligations based on reason and good sense, on the hope of success, on religion and morality, are often to the fore; if not what we call duty, then at least the better policy, dressed out with a moral air. 'We should spare their land, lest we make them desperate' (i. 82, 4); 'we should still farther endure, for it is your proud inheritance that you win your virtues from toils' (i. 123, 1); 'all the more should we accept allies and send aid quickly' (iii. 13, 2); 'you should fortify Dekeleia in Attica, the very thing the Athenians always fear most' (vi. 91, 6)—these are typical examples of *χρή* taken almost at random.

μαθεῖν (εἰδέναι, γνῶναι) *χρή* are recurring phrases. Allied to these are the indignant questions *πῶς χρή* and *πῶς οὐ χρή* with infinitive, and the indirect quotations with *ὥς χρή* (as v. 63, 2 ἐβούλεον ὥς *χρή* τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαι), and the indirect questions like i. 119 εἰ *χρή* πολεμεῖν, or v. 62, 1 ἐφ' ὅτι *χρή* πρῶτον ἰέναι, or vii. 67, 2 οὐδ' ὅπως καθεζομένους *χρή* τὸ βέλος ἀφείναι, or viii. 95, 4 σημείον ὅποτε *χρή* ἀνάγεσθαι ἦρθη. And these indirect questions, with the direct forms, are parallel with the dubitative subjunctive—sometimes a mere circumlocution, but with a wider range, and always explicitly stating in *χρή* what is implicit in the subjunctive. What the subjunctive in that function suggests and *χρή* expresses is precisely what we mean by *ought*, *should*, *sollen*. In other instances that appear doubtful it is sometimes clarifying to consider whether *sollen* (or *sollten*) would not be the German rendering.

In a passage like iii. 46, 6 *χρή* δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐκ ἀφισταμένους σφόδρα κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀποστῆναι σφόδρα φυλάσσειν it matters little whether we render *χρή* (and *χρήναι* in the sentence before) by *ought* or by the *must* of moral conviction. In iv. 21, 3 ἔπεισεν ἀποκρίνασθαι ὥς *χρή* τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς . . . παραδόντας κ.τ.λ. we seem to have the Herodotean *χρή* of command—possibly a slight softening of the form, to a conquered enemy, in place of a harsh *δεῖ* or *ἀνάγκη*, *that they should surrender* in place of *they must*. Finally, in v. 35, 3 χρόνους τε προὔθεντο ἐν οἷς *χρήν* τοὺς μὴ ἐσιόντας ἀμφοτέροις πολεμίους εἶναι, the Spartans are made to put forward their requirement as something reasonable and appropriate—‘they ought to take their position in the reasonable time named, if they did not wish to be treated as enemies.’

Of the seven occurrences of *χρεών* only one (iii. 40, 4) calls for special notice, and that as the sole instance of an accusative absolute.

IV.

Among the orators the change from Antiphon to Demosthenes is wide. In the former *χρή* and its forms exceed slightly in number *δεῖ* and its forms, likewise in Lysias and Isokrates. In Aischines, if we may judge from the speech *On the Crown* alone, *δεῖ* distinctly has the upper hand. In Demosthenes *δεῖ* and its family are five times as numerous as *χρή* and its family; so in Xenophon's *Anabasis*: in the *Memorabilia* the preponderance is less, about 3 : 1. None of this group uses *χρεών*. Nowhere is the differentiation clearer than in the *Anabasis*, but the orators named are close beside Xenophon in this. The difference in ratios goes with a difference in subject and in tone. The most we can see by way of anticipation of the next generation is that *δεῖ* (and particularly *δέον* as accusative absolute, because of the convenience of its inflection) is taking a little more of the common territory. It is noticeable, however, that the semantic difference is especially clear when position at the beginning of a clause, or collocation of particles, makes the word in question prominent.

In Plato, from his extent and variety, the comparison is particularly interesting; but my notes, though they cover a respectable fraction, do not

cover the whole. With one exception, which others have noted, it does not seem that safe chronological inferences can be drawn, because change of tone and subject is reflected in this element of style more than is any change in habit of expression at different periods. Yet it is possible that closer observation may reveal other indications of date. The following table¹ will serve as a starting point.

	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Prot.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>	<i>Theaet.</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>Laws v.-xii.</i>
δεῖ	21	25	41	30	249	285
χρή	7	14	22	18	48	180
χρεών	—	—	—	—	—	52

In the *Apolology* πολλοῦ δέω and πολλοῦ δεῖ are unusually frequent and are not counted; τὸ δέον (τοῦ δέοντος, τὰ δέοντα) and the participle with a genitive are not included in this table, nor in the discussion of any Attic prose writers, because they do not bear so much on our problem. The slight inconsistency as compared with earlier writers, where such expressions are few, does not matter for our purpose. What strikes one at a glance is the varying ratios in different dialogues. In the *Republic* the ratio is that of the *Anabasis*; in the *Laws* not far from that of Aischines; in the *Protagoras*, *Phaedo*, *Theaetetus*, it is roughly 2 : 1. Different books of the *Republic* and *Laws* vary more than any two Attic authors. Closer scrutiny is requisite to reveal the significance of this, and we shall return to it presently.

Meantime we may note along what line δεῖ is gaining. In Thuk. ii. 89, 8 ὥς χρή is ὀρθῶς as one should; ἐν δέοντι is at the right moment, when one should. The difference between *oportet* and *opus est* is here, but the close kinship is obvious. The *needful moment* is *when one ought* to act. Again, compare Thuk. iv. 63, 2 φίλοι μὲν τοῖς ἐχθίστοις διάφοροι δὲ οἷς οὐ χρή with Soph. *O.T.* 1185 sq. πέφασμαι φύς τ' ἀφ' ὧν οὐ χρῆν, ξὺν οἷς τ' | οὐ χρῆν ὁμιλῶν, οὔς τέ μ' οὐκ ἔδει κτανῶν. Such collocations illustrate how nearly allied are the notions of 'need,' 'requirement,' 'right,' 'duty.' There is an overlapping, a common field, which one may come at from either side. When δεῖ is becoming the readier word in daily speech, one naturally chooses it often for that common region. So οἶον χρή (as in Dem. xx. 107) readily passes into οἶον δεῖ, while οἶον χρή may recur at any moment. For οὐ γὰρ νόθους ἔδει ἄπτεσθαι ἀλλὰ γνησίους (*Rep.* 535c) it was needed that not bastards but true-born sons should lay hold of her is rough English for Jowett's 'her true sons should take her by the hand and not bastards.' Dem. xxiv. 127 οὐ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἔδει δεδέσθαι; may be strictly rendered, *was there not so much the more need for his being imprisoned?* But more naturally, *ought he not so much the more*, etc. The growth of δέον as accusative absolute has been already mentioned. It is easy to see, then, how δεῖ tended to occupy the ordinary field of χρή, which became more distinctly the mark of a certain elevation of style. χρεών, in prose after Thukydides, may be called a bit of conscious ὄγκος. The orators named above

¹ Although due care has been taken, the accuracy of my count is not guaranteed, nor is any stress laid on slight differences. The figures should be treated as approximate.

did not use it; Plato used it only in his later period, and then but seven times outside of the *Laws*.

The variations in relative frequency are easily explained. *Laws* vi. has forty-two cases of *δεῖ*, forty of *χρή*, ten of *χρεών*; x. has 16, 6, 3. But the last-named is mainly the argument for the existence of gods, while the others are more continuous discourse on the principles to be observed in appointing magistrates and regulating official conduct, education, marriage, with much talk of duties and obligations in the most serious tone. In the *Republic* we have lively conversation, earnest argument, metaphysics; the ratio of *χρή* to *δεῖ* varies from 1 : 10 of books iii., vi., vii. to 10 : 16 of book i., which has most of the tone of ordinary polite conversation. The familiar *Apology*, while much too short to prove anything by itself, illustrates Plato's variety very well. With twenty-one instances of *δεῖ* (and the omissions noted) there are six verbals in *-τέον*, colourless equivalents of both *δεῖ* and *χρή*, all before 23. There are seven occurrences of *χρή*, six of them after 32D, with the rise to a higher spiritual plane. Meantime we find *ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται ὧν δεῖ* (41E), *because they are not attending to what they ought*, and *ἔδει* (39B), *it was inevitable*, in something like the Herodotean sense, of mysterious divine ordinance, while *ἀνάγκη* (18D, 27C), *ἀναγκαῖον* (32A), *δίκαιός εἰμι* (18A), and *ἄξιον* (41D) suggest the other resources of the language.

V.

In Aristotle *δεῖ* may replace *χρή* anywhere. All that is left for the latter is a certain bookish air, which prevents its total loss; it retains this ghostly life in prose as long as the Atticists endeavour to maintain the ancient tongue, and it remains always possible in verse. At least eight examples of *χρή* occur in the *Ethics*, against hundreds of *δεῖ*. Occasionally the two are put side by side, as 1144a 17 *πράττουσί γε ἃ δεῖ καὶ ὅσα χρή τὸν σπουδαῖον*, and 1169b 1 sq., *οὕτω μὲν οὖν φίλαντον εἶναι δεῖ, καθάπερ εἴρηται· ὥς δὲ οἱ πολλοί, οὐ χρή*. Probably *χρή* has a shade more dignity, but nothing more. Even *χρεών* appears, as 1178b 10 (he is speaking of the gods) *πράξεις δὲ ποίας ἀπονεῖμαι χρεὼν αὐτοῖς*. Here we may see some appropriateness; but hardly in the four other passages in the *Ethics*. It suits Aristotle's general tone that prosaic *δεῖ* meets all needs, and large use is made of the still drier verbal.

The circle of development is complete. From the Homeric breadth and simplicity of *χρή*, through the poetic wealth of the fifth century and the fulness and precision of the earlier half of the fourth, we have reached the comparative poverty of the Hellenistic period, which nevertheless knows, and can use if it will, the resources of the preceding age.

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A NEGLECTED MANUSCRIPT OF THE *MORETVM*.

NEITHER Prof. Ellis in his *Appendix Vergiliana* (Oxonii, 1907) nor Prof. Vollmer in his edition of the same (Lipsiae, 1910), though the latter gives a long list of MSS, makes any mention of a Luxemburg MS containing the *Moretum*. The MS is numbered 27 (M. 9. 16), is of the twelfth century, and was formerly in the library of a monastery at Orval (Aurea Vallis). The Luxemburg collection is not as well known as it ought to be. A catalogue of the MSS was published in 1894 by the then custodian N. van Werveke, but the small number of copies issued does not seem to have fallen into the hands of those most interested. I have to thank the present librarian, Dr. d'Huart, for his kindness to me on the occasion of my recent visit to the library.

MS 27 is a collection of various writings diverse in age and character, which need not be enumerated. The *Moretum* occurs on folio 157 (double columns). The collation which follows was made with the edition of Ellis, takes account of *minutiae*, and was carefully revised. I leave it to those who have more leisure and more intimate acquaintance with the *Virgilian Appendix* to assign a value to the MS.

Title VIRGILII MARONIS MVRETVM INCIPIT

3 Similus || eximii || cultor cum] cultorē (corr.) || between lines 2 and 3 in mg. pro 6 inertes 7 locum lesus 8 exuto 9 cēlabat 10 admonet (corr. m 2) || submissa || produxit (corr.) || stupas || humorē (-eras.) || carentes || 13 tanto (corr.) || sed lux 15 clause quē peruidet hostia clauis 16 fusus (sus m 2 in ras.) 17 petebat 18 excreuit (ex excreuerit) || podere (corr. fort. m 2) 19 Intus || adsistit (ad exp. m 2) 20 fixe 21 gemina tunc 23 et 24 transpositi 23 peruertit || geminumque molarum 24 partitur utramque 25 Leua 26 giris 27 tonsa || ceres (c uid. in ras.) (?) 28 leua 30 suum (su s. ras.) 31 clamatur || s. scybalen m 2 add. pro 34 pectora || cōpressior || alno 35 spaciosa 36 om. 37 nocat (?) || iponere || ligna (na m 2 in ras.) 38 licores (corr. [m 2 ?]) 39 Impleuit postquam || opus om. 40 crebra (corr. m 2) 42 succedit 43 emendata 44 cōponit || super ingerit] suffundit et 49 ipressis 51 que om. (add. m 2 [?]) || ignes 53 Similus 55 cōparat ēscas 59 aneti 60 aeris 62 arundo 64 deerat 66 nec sumptus erat ullus opus sed regula curae 67 casulē || pluuiēque (corr. pluuique) 70 cōmittere 71 apte cura || submittere 72 olus || lacte || fudentes (corr. [m 2 ?]) || brachia bēte 73 muleque 74 capiti nomen 75 om. 77 Quē crescit in acumine radix 78 granis 80 uotisque 81 uenales humeris fascēs 82 Ille 83 unquam 84 cepa

85 uultū nasturcia 86 Intubaque || eruga (*corr.*) 89 quatuor || spicis (*corr.*) ||
 allia 90 graciles 95 cortis (*corr.* cartis) 96 adicit (*ex adducit?*) 97 tinguit
 || lapidesque 98 adheso 99 inserit 100 leuo || setosa || inguine 101 flagrantia
 102 allia 103 girum || uires 104 disperdunt 105 frustra (*alt r exp.*) 107 nares
 (*corr.* nates) 108 dāpnat || praemia 109 sepe || tergit 110 Inmeritoque || dicit
 (*ex ducit?*) 112 lentus || orbes 114 uires || acceti 115 cōmiscet (*s m 2 ex x*)
 118 que *fort. m 2* 119 scibale (*pro s.l.*) 120 recius *uel* rectus (*c s.l.*) 121 Iam
 famis] Infert || simulus 123 parentes

Subscription P.V.M. muretum FINIT.

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NOTE ON THUCYDIDES VII. 28. 3.

ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν
 οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον ἐνόμιζον περιόισιν αὐτοὺς, εἰ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἐς
 τὴν χώραν.

So the MSS: but difficulties are rightly felt (see Hude). If the MSS reading is retained, editors require us (i.) to place οὐδεὶς in partitive or limitative apposition to οἱ δέ; but it is not in partitive apposition, but in direct opposition and contradiction. Examples such as i. 89, οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν and others quoted in Kühner ii. 287 are not really similar, for they are without the negative, which makes all the difference. Thucydides could not say 'Some, that is, none.' Nor will the Greek words bear the rendering 'Of others, none.' Or (ii.) to punctuate as Classen does, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν, οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον ἐνόμιζον κ.τ.λ. Then τριῶν γε ἐτῶν becomes a genitive of time; but the awkwardness of thrusting a genitive between two accusatives, ἐνιαυτόν and πλείω χρόνον, is manifest in such a passage.

But if we emend to οἱ δὲ <τρεῖς>, τριῶν κ.τ.λ., the passage proceeds smoothly step by step to the climax οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον: the further correction ἐνόμιζε naturally follows, (εν having been written by dittography before π), agreeing with the Thucydidean practice of looking to the nearest subject. So the sentence will then run as emended:

ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ <τρεῖς>, τριῶν
 γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον ἐνόμιζε κ.τ.λ.

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NOTES ON LUCAN VIII.

IN recent years important contributions to the interpretation of the eighth book of Lucan have been made by Professor Postgate (*C.Q.*, vol. I., pp. 75-79, 216-222), and by Mr. J. D. Duff (*Journ. of Phil.*, vol. XXXII., pp. 125-135). The following notes make a further attempt to solve some of the many problems presented by the book.

Vv. 5 sqq. [Pompey is fleeing to the coast after the battle of Pharsalia.]

Pauet ille fragorem
motorum uentis nemorum, comitumque suorum
qui post terga redit trepidum laterique timentem
exanimat.

The clause *qui post terga redit* has caused a great deal of misgiving. Mr. Heitland (*C.R.* XI., p. 206 sq.) suggests with some diffidence that the reference may be to 'a scout in advance.' 'Every time the scout comes back to report any news from the front,' he says, 'Pompey is startled by the thought "here it is at last; our flight is cut off."' But surely 'anyone who comes back the way he went' (so Mr. Heitland explains *post terga redit*) is a strange way of expressing 'anyone who returns after being sent on in advance as a scout.' And with this explanation what is the force of *lateri timentem*?

The passage, however, becomes quite clear if we give to *comitum* the familiar technical meaning of the word. We often find *comites* applied to the retinue of chosen friends which accompanied a governor to his province, a general to the field, or a prince of the blood on his travels. In the case of a general they were a sort of half-official staff, in close personal attendance on him. Pompey's *comites*, then, whose proper place is by their leader, have been scattered in the battle and in the subsequent flight, and the survivors now try to 'return' to him. As each one comes up from behind, Pompey starts, and momentarily fears a cowardly stab in the side (*lateri timentem*). This interpretation seems to remove all difficulty about the meaning of *redit*.

Vv. 102 sqq. [Apostrophe of the dead Iulia by Cornelia.]

Ubicumque iaces, ciuilibus armis
nostros ultra toros, ades huc atque exige poenas,
Iulia crudelis.

Strange difficulties have been felt about the meaning of *ubicumque iaces*. Francken explains it as 'sub inferis, siue in stygiis tenebris,'—an unnecessarily

far-fetched idea, which is not really supported by III. 12 (wrongly cited as II. 12 in his note). Oudendorp, following Beroaldus, takes *ubicumque iaces* with the previous words (*clades nunc denique lustra, Magne, tuas*), but this is impossible. Haskins' note is a curious one; *iaces*, he asserts, 'is equivalent to *uersaris*, for there was no doubt about the place of her burial.' Of course there was no doubt, and Cornelia's words do not imply that there was. All that they say is, 'No matter where' (or 'how far away') 'thou liest buried, come hither, and complete thy vengeance.'

Vv. 306-10.

Pompey is considering what alliances he might contract in order to repair his shattered fortunes. He decides that neither Juba nor Ptolemy is to be trusted; help must, therefore, be sought from the Parthians:

Quare agite, Eoum, comites, properemus in orbem (289).

After showing how formidable is the might of Parthia, he is seized with doubts and fears, and in vv. 306 sqq. exclaims:

O utinam non tanta mihi fiducia saeuus
esset in Arsacidis! fatis nimis aemula nostris
fata mouent Medos, multumque in gente deorum est.
effundam populos alia tellure reuolsos,
excitosque suis inmittam sedibus ortus.
quod si nos Eoa fides et barbara fallent
foedera, uolgati supra commercia mundi
naufragium Fortuna ferat.

310

Dr. Postgate¹ has truly said that lines 309 sq., which assert Pompey's resolve to 'let loose the forces of the East' upon his enemies, are quite unintelligible as they stand, for in the lines immediately preceding and following we have an expression of grave misgiving as to the result of committing his destinies into the hands of such a people as the Parthians. The remedy suggested by Dr. Postgate is to place 309 sq. after 288. (Would they not come in more appropriately after 289, quoted above?) But there is a simpler cure. If we put a mark of interrogation after *ortus*, the sentence becomes quite natural and forcible. Lucan's fondness for rhetorical questions without particles to introduce them is apt to cause confusion, as Dr. Postgate has indicated (*C.Q.* I., p. 75, where he corrects the punctuation of VIII. 85, reading *illud amasti?*); cf. I. 299 sqq., III. 137 sq., IV. 215-219, VI. 153-156, 326 sq., IX. 1073-1076; also VIII. 793-796, quoted below.

Dr. Postgate finds *tanta* (v. 306) meaningless, and would read *tota*. But is it not conceivable that on thinking of the dangers of a Parthian alliance Pompey might exclaim, 'I could wish that my confidence in their might were not so great as to make me prefer their alliance (for they are dangerous as well as powerful, and might make themselves our masters)?'

¹ *C. Q.* vol. I., p. 78.

Vv. 701-708.

Hac Fortuna fide Magni tam prospera fata
 pertulit, hac illum summo de culmine rerum
 morte petit, cladesque omnes exegit in uno
 saeua die, quibus immunes tot praestitit annos,
 Pompeiusque fuit, qui numquam mixta uideret 705
 laeta malis, felix nullo turbante deorum,
 et nullo parcente miser; semel impulit illum
 dilata Fortuna manu.

No commentator seems to have taken the trouble to understand these lines, though Lucan has been at considerable pains to make his meaning clear. The great stumbling-blocks in the path of his readers seem to be *pertulit* (702) and *morte petit* (703). The latter difficulty has been caused partly by taking *hac* with *morte*. Certainly *hac morte petit* in this context would be intolerably weak; but surely we must supply with *hac* the word *fide* from the previous line: *hac fide . . . pertulit, hac (fide) . . . morte petit* is what Lucan says. *De culmine rerum petit* is a 'pregnant' construction, perfectly intelligible: 'assailed him so as to hurl him down from the pinnacle of his prosperity.' Such an expression is far from impossible in a language which can say *praefecti Capuam creari coepti* (Liv. IX. 20. 5). Thus conjectural emendation is needless; and indeed most of the suggestions made (e.g. *rapit, rotat, premit*) are not only unnecessary but open to objection in themselves, as being in the present tense, when it is rather a perfect that is wanted (*petit* here = *petiit*; cf. 85, 321, 422, etc.). Again, the use of *morte petit* has caused some misgiving. If it can be said of a man *petit excidiis urbem miserosque penates* (Verg. Georg. II. 505), surely *petit morte Pompeium* can be said of Fortuna. The expression is *feliciter audax*—which cannot be said for Burman's *monte premit*! Moreover, *morte* must be kept for a reason which will shortly appear.

The sense of the passage is as follows. 'This, then, was the kind of *fides* shown by Fortune to Pompey! She was simply holding her hand (*dilata manu*, 708) in order to strike him down when he was at the height of his prosperity (*culmine rerum*). Though it was hard for her to wait, she endured all his long triumphant career (*tam prospera fata pertulit*, 701 sq.); she suffered him to have unalloyed success (*numquam mixta uideret laeta malis*, 705 sq.), until the great day should come when at one fell stroke (*semel*, 707) she should hurl him down—not by a mere disaster to his cause, but by death itself (*morte*, 703). Thus she claimed in one day all the debt of calamities from which she had exempted Pompey before (703 sq.)¹ in order to make his fall the greater and the more sudden.

This summary will probably explain the meaning of the admirable *pertulit*, which has given rise to much talk and some useless 'emendation.' The

¹ Cf. v. 21 sq.; sed poenas longi Fortuna fauoris | exigit a misero. In II. 727 sq., we find a similar but less extreme point of view.

specious *perculit*, which has found favour in some quarters, would rob the passage of a most effective word. The last sentence, with its emphatic *semel* and *dilata*, gathers up the whole meaning of the lines in brief, trenchant language. It will now, perhaps, be clear that *morte* must be retained; when Fortune did at last strike, the blow brought not merely disaster, but death.

The lines may be roughly translated thus: 'Such, then, was Fortune's loyalty, whereby she endured all the glorious career of Magnus, and then assailed him and flung him down from the summit of prosperity, even by death, claiming, cruel one, in a single day all the calamities from which she suffered so many years to be exempt; and thus Pompey was one who never saw success mingled with ills, but as in his days of weal no god troubled him, so in his day of woe none spared him; for with one blow of a hand withheld till then did Fortune hurl him down.'

The passage would be almost equally effective if treated as a series of rhetorical questions. The general sense would not be changed, but the indictment of Fortuna would be less direct. In the latter part of this book, however, Lucan is bitterly cynical and defiant, even to the extent of impiety, and he even represents Pompey as harbouring similar feelings. This fact does not seem to have been sufficiently realized; hence great perplexity has arisen with regard to the two passages which will be considered next.

Vv. 663-667.

At Magni cum terga sonent et pectora ferro,
permansisse decus sacrae uenerabile formae
irathamque deis faciem, nil ultima mortis
ex habitu uoltuque uiri mutasse fatentur
qui lacerum uidere caput.

For *irathamque* Bentley suggests *certantemque* ('vying with'), Madvig *aequatamque*. Dr. Postgate¹ prefers *mirandamque*, as being palaeographically more probable. The objection brought against the MSS. reading is that it is inconsistent with the tranquil, majestic demeanour of Pompey as indicated by his last thoughts (622-635). But these last thoughts, so far from being inconsistent with *iratham deis faciem*, actually confirm the reading. Pompey is calm, but it is the calm of defiance. In 629 sqq. we read:

spargant lacerentque licebit,
sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas
hoc auferre deo.

Surely if ever words were full of defiance, these are. The scornful *o superi*, to which we shall shortly find a parallel in v. 861, and the emphatic *deo* have the same implication: 'They may dismember and mangle me, yet ye gods (who thought to bring me to the lowest depths of adversity), I am still blessed, and there is not a god that can take this glory from me.' The words of Cornelia, which follow, accuse the gods in plain terms: v. 642 sq., 'sed quisquis in

¹ C. Q. vol. I., p. 219.

istud | *a superis* inmisit caput. . . .’ Such sentiments are common enough in life and in literature, and Lucan’s Pompey certainly does not seem less natural or less heroic for harbouring them in his heart and showing them in his countenance. Virgil less explicitly and more delicately says of the slain Turnus :

uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

Lucan himself is often *iratus deis*, as in the famous

uictrix causa deis placuit, sed uicta Catoni,

and in many other passages.¹

Vv. 858-861.

Nil ista nocebunt

famae busta tuae : templis auroque sepultus

uillior umbra fores ; nunc es pro numine summo

hoc tumulo, Fortuna, iacens.

This is the text as given by Hosius, and modern scholars, when they have not resorted to conjectural emendation, have naturally thought it best to follow so competent an authority. But it has been felt that the sudden change from an apostrophe of Pompey to one of Fortune is clumsy ; it is not however without parallel in Lucan (I. 121-124, unless we emend 123, is a violent instance ; cf. IV. 799 sqq., VIII. 548 sq.). More important is the fact that it is difficult to get a satisfactory or even an intelligible meaning out of the sentence *nunc . . . iacens*. Mr. J. D. Duff ingeniously attempts to make these words apply to Pompey by supposing that ‘ Lucan may have thrust in here the vocative *Fortuna* in the sense of “ Fie ! for shame ! Fortune.” ’ This interpretation is, as its author virtually admits, a refuge of the desperate, for it is not easy to believe that even Lucan could have used the words *es . . . , Fortuna*, in the sense of ‘ Fie ! Fortune ! thou (Pompey) art . . . ; ’ they could hardly mean anything but ‘ Thou, O Fortune, art.’ But I believe that Mr. Duff has given us more than half the truth ; for the remainder we must resort to the *apparatus criticus*.

All the best MSS. read, not *es*, but *est*. The reason why scholars have rejected this reading seems to be that they have construed *Fortuna* as the subject of *est*. I feel sure, however, that *est* is the correct reading, and that *Fortuna* is vocative, not nominative. The clue to the meaning of the passage seems to be given in the cynical lines 713 sq., where we are told that Fortune allowed Pompey a hasty burial on the seashore that he might not be without a tomb, or rather to prevent him from having a better one (‘ ne iaceat nullo uel ne meliore sepulchro ’). A little later this gibe is directly addressed to Fortune (793 sqq.) :

Placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulchrum

dicere Pompei, quo condi maluit illum

quam terra caruisse socer ?

¹ Of Lucan’s invocations of the gods Francken (on IV. 192) says, ‘ Saepe inuocationes deorum ut h. l. habent apud L. aliquid acerbi.’

(*socer* at the end of the sentence='even Caesar.') Lucan now (860 sq.) delivers his final thrust. 'Ah, Fortune!' he says, 'that mean burial which was all that you would concede to Pompey has not overwhelmed him in nameless obscurity, as you wished; it has exalted him to the rank of a god.' I venture to think that Lucan's sudden savage turning upon Fortune after apostrophizing Pompey is more effective than awkward. It is in the same spirit as Pompey's unexpected *o superi* (630), which has already been mentioned, and it is thoroughly in keeping with the attitude toward Fortune which permeates the second half of the book and appears occasionally elsewhere.

The last three passages dealt with have been grouped together because of the connexion in their thought. We may now go back and consider another passage where the reading of the MSS. requires some defence.

Vv. 717-720. [The soldier Cordus recovers Pompey's body from the water.]

Ille per umbras
ausus ferre gradum uictum pietate timorem
compulit ut mediis quaesitum corpus in undis
duceret ad terram, traheretque in litora Magnum.

Here, as elsewhere, Dr. Postgate has pointed out a real difficulty.¹ He objects to the 'sheer and unredeemed tautology' of the last clause. According to his view, '*traheret=duceret, in litora=ad terram, and Magnum=quaesitum corpus.*' He therefore conjectures *reducem* for *traheret*; the introduction of this adjective, bearing the characteristic 'emphasis which Lucan throws on to single words,' would, he holds, redeem the passage from the charge of meaningless repetition.

As Dr. Postgate's words imply, tautology in Latin poetry gives no ground for suspicion unless it is 'sheer and unredeemed.' A second clause may repeat all or most of the contents of the previous clause, provided that it adds something to make the meaning clearer or fuller. No one says that Virgil could not have written

sedibus hunc refer ante suis, et conde sepulchro (*Aen.* VI. 152),

even if (as is probable) *sedibus* refers to the *sepulchrum*. Nor does anyone impugn *Aen.* IX. 337 sq.,

felix, si protinus illum
aequasset nocti ludum in lucemque tulisset.

But such instances are scarcely sufficient to justify so useless a tautology as is supposed to be found in the passage under consideration.

It may well be questioned, however, if we have here simply 'vain repetition'; indeed the traditional text seems to furnish that very 'emphasis on a single word' which the emendation mentioned above is designed to obtain. Surely *Magnum* is no mere reiteration of *quaesitum corpus*. Cordus was con-

¹ *C. Q.* I., p. 219.

strained 'to draw the body to land, yea, to drag to the shore him that was called The Great.' *Hic situs est Magnus* (793) was the epitaph which he inscribed on Pompey's tomb; *Magnus* has here the same pathetic force. Again in v. 796 *Magnus* is more than a synonym of *Pompeius*:

Cur obicis Magno tumulum, manesque uagantis
includis?

At the end of Book II. the poet thus concludes an apostrophe of Pompey:

Non quia te superi patrio priuare sepulchro
maluerint, Phariae busto damnantur harenae:
parcitur Hesperiae; procul hoc et in orbe remoto
abscondat Fortuna nefas, Romanaque tellus
immaculata sui seruetur sanguine Magni.

It was certainly not the exigencies of metre that made Lucan speak of *Magnus* here, and not of *Pompeius*.

One other point may be mentioned. As the words *traheret in litora Magnum* in v. 720 are, save for the preposition and the number of the verb, identical with those used in v. 570 (*traherent ad litora Magnum*), Dr. Postgate supposes that the repetition in v. 720 is due to a scribe's reminiscence of the earlier passage. If the above defence of the ordinary reading carries conviction, it will seem more natural to attribute the reminiscence to the poet himself. It is, of course, unconscious, or 'sub-conscious.' Lucan was no more aware of repeating himself in v. 720 than was Virgil of introducing into one of his most solemn passages a reminiscence of the *Coma Berenices* (*Aen.* VI. 460; cf. Catullus, LXVI. 39). Other notable instances of unconscious repetition may be found at I. 82 and 93, *nec gentibus ullis*, IV. 264, *tunc inopes undae*, 292, *iamque inopes undae*, and perhaps VIII. 625, *fluxerunt prospera uitae*, 631, *mutantur prospera uita*. Similar occurrences are not uncommon in prose; there is a peculiarly clumsy case in Liv. IX. 23. 8 sq. Repetitions of single words can perhaps hardly be used to support instances of repeated phrases, but when we find our author writing (IV. 426 sq.).

quod nec uela ferat, nec apertas uerberet undas.
tunc freta seruantur, dum se decliuiibus undis . . . ,

and a little later (448-50),

At Pompeianus fraudes innectere ponto
antiqua parat arte Cilix, passusque uacare
summa freti medio suspendit uincula ponto,¹

we shall be, perhaps, less inclined than ever to say that any repetition is impossible in Lucan.

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¹ In II. 143 sq., where *nocentes* appears at the end of each line, the repetition is intentional.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE FRONTO CORRESPONDENCE.

OWING to the illegibility of parts of the Fronto palimpsest and the carelessness of its first editor, Cardinal Mai, it was impossible, even after the critical labours of Niebuhr and his colleagues, to come to any satisfactory conclusion as to the chronology of the Letters. But the edition of S. A. Naber in 1867, which had the advantage of a fresh collation of the MS. by G. N. Du Rieu, further reinforced subsequently by a new examination of the Codex due to W. Studemund, held out a better prospect of success. The labours of C. Brakman in the same direction, published in 1902, have also thrown fresh light upon the subject. Yet the critical world has long been awaiting the appearance of the authoritative recension by Professor E. Hauler of Vienna, who has spent infinite pains over a further, and what may well be a final, inspection of the Codex. A great desideratum, which it is much to be hoped that the new edition will supply, is an exact indication, as far as may be, of the extent of each lacuna in pages, lines, words, or letters. A knowledge of how much is lost in each case is essential for the true understanding of the sequence of thought and time in what remains.

The question of the chronology of the Letters has been discussed by Naber in the *Prolegomena* to his edition, by Mommsen in *Hermes* VIII. (1874) pp. 198 sqq., by Brakman in his *Frontoniana*, and, incidentally, by the writer of the article on Annii Verus in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*. But the last word has not yet been said, by any means, upon this difficult subject.

Only two letters out of the whole number supply us with an actual date. In *Ad Caes.* I. 8 (Nab. p. 23) Fronto speaks of Marcus as twenty-two years old, and in *Ad Caes.* IV. 13 (Nab. p. 75) Marcus 'blushes at the thought that, though twenty-five years old, his mind has made its own nothing in the way of true convictions and nobler principles of life.' Marcus was born on 26 April, 121, and therefore these two letters must have been written, the one between 26 April, 143, and 26 April, 144, and the other, similarly, between 146 and 147.

With these two dates as incidental props our whole scheme of chronology for that part of the correspondence which precedes the accession of Marcus will be found to depend largely upon the dates which can be fixed for two events, Fronto's consulship and the marriage of Marcus. The former of these has been satisfactorily determined. Fronto was *consul suffectus* during the

months of July and August, 143, giving Ausonius a handle for his jesting allusion to 'the consuls in whose consulship Fronto was consul,' one of these very consuls being the famous Herodes Atticus, himself a teacher of Marcus. Some of the earlier letters are concerned with the trial of Herodes, and the date of his consulship is not without its bearing on these.

About the second date above mentioned, the date of the marriage of Marcus, there has been some difference of opinion. Naber, followed by P. B. Watson in his *Life of Marcus Aurelius*, puts the marriage in 140, when Marcus was only nineteen. But the evidence for a later date is really overwhelming. The only doubt is whether the marriage took place in 146, as Schiller and others hold, or, as Klebs and the writer in Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*, in 145. As the accurate fixing of this date is very important for our purpose, some space must be devoted to it and to the births of the children that were born to Marcus and Faustina.

Marcus was consul for the second time in 145, and Capitolinus (*Vit. Mar.* VI. 6) seems to imply that the marriage *followed* the consulship, and he associates the bestowal of the *Trib. Pot.* with the birth of a daughter as the first product of the union. The tribunician power of Marcus dates probably from 10 December, 146, though some fix the date as 1 January, 147, or even 25 February, 147. We know by an inscription found at Smyrna (*C. I. G.* 3176) that Marcus had a son, probably Titus Aelius Antoninus (Dessau II. 8803), born early in 147, who died before 28 March of that year. If therefore Capitolinus is correct in making Marcus's first child to be a daughter (Lacour-Gayet in his *Life of Pius* thinks *filia* should be *filio*), the marriage of Marcus must have taken place early in 145, and the daughter been born at the end of that year or the beginning of 146. With this agrees a coin of Ephesus (Mionnet, *Ionian*, 321) struck between the spring of 145 and the spring of 146, which bears the heads of Marcus and Faustina (here styled Augusta). Certain Roman coins, inscribed *Vota Publica* (Cohen 808, Eckhel VII. 46), dated in the second consulship of Marcus (not as Hobler in the first), confirm the same view. On them we see Marcus holding a roll in his left hand and Faustina with his right, while Juno Pronuba stands behind.

Twelve or thirteen children, six girls and the rest boys, a very large number for those days, were born before 167. But it is scarcely possible to give their dates of birth and the order in which they arrived. We have seen that a son was born and died early in 147. The daughter spoken of by Capitolinus as the first child was probably Annia Galeria Faustina, and we find her mentioned in *Ad Caes.* IV. 11 as *paruola nostra Faustina*. She was evidently a delicate child, and probably the *domnuola mea*, who is mentioned as being ill in V. 24, refers to her. She is alluded to again in V. 19, but with a little sister, and seems to have died about 149. The sister must be Annia Lucilla (see also V. 30 and 33), who was married to Lucius Verus in 164, and most likely born in 148.

At the other end of the list we know that Commodus and his twin brother

Antoninus Geminus were born on 31 August, 161 (*Ad Ant.* I. 1, 3, 4); that the latter died in 164; that M. Annius Verus (or Severus) was born 162/3 and died 169/170, after being named Caesar with Commodus on 12 October, 166; and lastly that Vibia Aurelia Sabina, the youngest child, was born in 166, as we gather from Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* II. 559), who tells us that a daughter of Marcus was aged three at the time of the trial of Herodes, which took place about 170.

Consequently between 148 and 161 we must find room for the birth of Arria Fadilla, who probably came next to Lucilla (see *paruolae nostrae* in V. 35, and *matronae nostrae* in V. 42); of Titus Aelius Aurelius and Titus Aurelius Antoninus, both of whom died in infancy; of Domitia Faustina, who died before 161; of Cornificia, who is mentioned in *Ad Ant.* I. 1; and of Hadrianus (*C.I.G.* 3709), though it is possible that he may be identical with Antoninus Geminus.

A minor point, that requires a passing mention, is the application of the term *Domina* in these letters. It could be used of Faustina the Elder, wife of Pius, of Domitia Lucilla, mother of Marcus, or of Faustina the Younger, his wife. But the elder Faustina died between 10 July, 140, and 10 July, 141. Lucilla did not die till about 156, and Faustina the Younger survived Fronto. They all lived together as members of the Imperial household. The word *Domina* often has *mater* attached to it, and then of course its reference is clear, but *Domina* alone may be either Lucilla or Faustina. In the second book, where however two-thirds of the letters are mutilated at the end and so lack the customary salutations, the word does not appear. In Book III. *Domina* always stands for Lucilla. In the first book the word occurs but once, *mea domina parens tua* (I. 3). It is only in the fifth book that any real difficulty is met with. Here, in the twenty-four cases of its use, Faustina seems to be meant twice as often as Lucilla.

Mommsen, who upheld the arrangement of the letters as being generally chronological, says that the earliest letters are not preserved, meaning apparently all before the year 143. It is clear that the letters in the first two books are arranged approximately in chronological order, and together with *Epist. Graec.* 1-3 and *Ad Pium* 1, 2 belong to the year 143. But the last two letters of Book II. (16, 17) are out of place, and, in spite of Naber's advocacy of the earlier date, must be referred to the year 162. These two letters with *Ad Amic.* I. 14 are on the subject of Matidia's will, and in the first of them mention is made of Faustina and her daughters. As we have seen, Faustina was not married till 145 at the earliest, and so these letters cannot belong to the years 143, as their position would lead us to expect. Moreover, as Matidia is mentioned in *Ad Ant.* II. 1, she could not have died till 161 or 162.

During the two months of Fronto's consulship were written the letters from I. 8 (which should be II. 1) to II. 11, the Greek letters to Lucilla, and *Ad Pium* I. 1, 2.

The only real crux in the first two books is the assumption of the title *Imperator* by Marcus in *Ad Caes.* I. 2. It is not easy to see how this could be correct before he was invested with the proconsular imperium in 147.

One would naturally take the letters in Books III. and IV. from their position to be later than 143, and as IV. 13, the last letter of that book, was certainly written between 146 and 147, to fall between 143 and 147. But many things militate against this supposition. The letters III. 2-6 relate to a trial of Herodes on serious charges connected with his conduct at Athens, and he could hardly have been elected consul with such charges hanging over his head. Consequently it must have been before 143 that he was arraigned, and most likely soon after arriving in Rome from Greece. The consulship would then naturally be the seal of his acquittal. Attempts have been made to connect this trial with the later and similar one in 169 or 170. The same accusers appear in both. But owing to the long interval between the two trials it would seem impossible to affiliate them. Philostratus in his account of Herodes (*Vit. Soph.* II. 549) tells us that the Athenians were much incensed against him at his sharp practice towards them in connexion with his father's legacy to the citizens of Athens. The words in Fronto (*Ad Caes.* III. 3) *dicendum est de filio impio et precum paternarum immemore* are generally taken of the son of Herodes, but apart from the difficulty of identifying this son, the words would be making a point in favour of Herodes himself as trying to restrain that son from his excesses. But that is contrary to the whole tenor of Fronto's remarks. Why then should not the expression *filio impio* mean Herodes himself, who disregarded his father's last wishes in respect to the legacy?

One or two considerations point to an early date for this batch of letters. For instance in III. 2 Marcus speaks of himself as an *audax puerulus*. Again Fronto seems not to have known that Herodes was a friend of Marcus and had even been brought up at his grandfather's house. Fronto must surely have been aware of this by 143, when Herodes and he were both consuls in the same year. So we may safely date these letters about 141-2.

Still earlier would appear to be the two Latin letters inserted among the *Epist. Graec.* (6 and 7) and the Ἑρωτικὸς λόγος (No. 8). The mention of his 'Caesar-speech' by Marcus fixes the date of these as 139 or 140. The early date of the letters at the beginning of Book III. is further indicated by the fact that *Epist. Graec.* 6, which we have just spoken of as most probably one of the earliest of all, is placed after III. 8 as well as among the Greek letters at the end of the work. But the first letter in Book III. presents a difficulty. The words, *tu cum in senatu uel in contione populi dicendum fuit, nullo uerbo remotiore usus es, nulla figura obscura aut insolenti*, point to a date when Marcus would be much more familiar with public speaking than he could have been in 140-142. As the letter is so fragmentary, dogmatism is out of the question, but perhaps this letter, like the two that precede it, has become misplaced.

In III. 7, 8, we find allusions to a speech of thanks by Marcus to Pius

which could hardly be anything except his speech as consul in 140. The twelfth letter of this same book, unfortunately mutilated, is an answer to two letters from Fronto. One of these is certainly III. 11, and the other would seem to be IV. 3, a long letter on the niceties of oratory, for Fronto writing in 162 (*Ad Ant.* I. 2) says: *Meministin eius orationis tuae quam uixdum pueritiam egressus in Senatu habuisti . . . meque primam illam longiusculam ad te epistulam scripsisse, qua id augurabar, magni ingeni signum esse ad eiusmodi sententiarum pericula audaciter adgredi?* Now IV. 3 is just such a lengthy epistle, and has that very recommendation of *audacia*. So in spite of Naber's view that the letter referred to by Fronto has been lost (see Nab. p. 97, note 2), it is extremely probable that he is referring to the third letter of Book IV. The writer on Anniius Verus in Pauly-Wissowa would make the speech referred to Marcus's acknowledgment of the quaestorship in 138, but it is difficult to carry the correspondence between Fronto and Marcus so far back as that. If the view here put forward be correct, this letter (IV. 3) must be one of the earliest. As to the rest of Book III., viz. letters 13 to 21, they would naturally fall between 140 and 143, but one sentence in 13, *cum clam tot negotiis, quot officiis, quot rescribendis per prouincias litteris destringerere*, scarcely suits so early a stage in his pupil's career.

For Book IV. we have the *terminus ad quem* in its last letter, written when Marcus was twenty-five years old (146-147). The third letter of this book was, as we have seen, most probably a very early letter. So we may suppose the three which precede it to belong to the period before 143. Those that follow (4-10) may reasonably be dated between 143 and 147. The reference to the little Faustina in 11 throws that letter and 12, which is the answer to it, to the very end of 145 or the beginning of 146. The *paruola nostra Faustina* will be the Annia Galeria mentioned above.

With Book V., as Mommsen has already noted, the character of the correspondence changes. The letters are mostly much shorter, some being the briefest possible notifications of Fronto's aches and pains.

The distaste for the insincerities of oratory, of which there are traces in Marcus's previous letters (see *Ad Caes.* III. 15), shews itself in a more pronounced form in IV. 13, where we find him hankering after the *puriores rationes* of philosophy. Fronto must have felt this defection of his favourite pupil deeply, and perhaps it tended to abridge their correspondence. Moreover Marcus, virtually now co-ruler with Pius, was becoming more and more occupied with affairs of state, while Fronto, who as he tells us himself (*Ad Amic.* I. 18) was a poor correspondent, must have found his power of letter-writing gradually curtailed by the burdens of age and increasing ill-health.

Book V. opens with the reference to a speech by Marcus, which can hardly be other than his speech of thanks for the *Trib. Pot.* in 147. In the index-title to a lost letter, V. (7), we find the first mention of Faustina by name. The name indeed occurs in II. 16, 17, but, as we have already seen, these two letters are certainly misplaced and belong to a later period when Marcus had

succeeded Pius. The mention in letter 19 of *paruolae nostrae* dates that letter as not earlier than 148, and it is most probable that Annia Lucilla was born in that year, her sister Annia Galeria being between two and three years old.

It is possible that letters 22-29 are misplaced, and belong to a period two years earlier. At all events 26 and 27 seem to be connected with IV. 13. Fronto had sent a theme on which he wished Marcus to compose speeches both for and against. This is exactly what Marcus in IV. 13 demurs to doing—*nam eadem de re diuersa tueri, numquam prosus ita dormiet Aristo, ut permittat*. Epistle 28 may be sequent to this episode, since it contains a request for an epideictic or 'show' thesis instead of a previous forensic one.

On reaching IV. 32, 33 we find only one daughter mentioned, so if the order is here chronological, we must conclude that Annia Galeria had died between V. 19 and V. 32. In V. 35 however a fresh reference to *paruolae nostrae* indicates the presence of a second little daughter. This would be most probably Arria Fadilla, whose birth we may put about 149.

Fronto's proconsulship is alluded to in V. 36, and as at this period the proconsulship followed the consulship after an interval, generally speaking, of twelve to fifteen years, we reach a date about 155. The succeeding letters, V. 38, 39, mention a speech of L. Verus, which would most naturally be his speech of thanks for the consulship in 154. The *matronae nostrae* of V. 42 are again, no doubt, Lucilla and Fadilla. The mother of Marcus died probably in 156, and we find in V. 45 that her health, when that letter was written, was causing Marcus great anxiety. At the same time Faustina was near her delivery, and the child born (V. 52) was possibly Domitia Faustina. The rest of this book falls between 155 and 161, except the last letter, which from its different superscription and its mention of *γνώμαι*—an early feature in Fronto's educational scheme—would appear to belong to the period before 143.

The correspondence with Pius, apart from the first two letters, which have been already dealt with, gives no indication of date, but belongs to the period 145-161. The fourth letter is to Marcus, and is concerned, like *Ad Pium* 3 and 7, with the will of Niger Censorius, but we know nothing of this Niger. The will contained strictures against Gavius Maximus, who was *praef. praet.* to Pius from 140 till 157, in which year we may presume that he died. The letters would therefore not be later than that year.

The two books of letters *Ad Antoninum* seem in themselves to be arranged more or less in chronological order. To the letters in Book I. should be *Ad Caes.* added II. 16, 17. They come under the years 161-3, while Book II. covers the period between 162-6, though Mommsen would transfer Epistles 3, 4, 5 to the end of the book, and date them somewhat later.

The letters to Verus cover the years 161-166, but are not so chronologically arranged as those to Antoninus. For I. 2 mentions Apolaustus, who was only brought from Syria by Lucius in 166, and II. 6, 7 undoubtedly refer to the illness of Lucius at Canusium, when he had set out for Syria (*Capit. Vit. Ver.* VI. 7), and therefore cannot be later than 162.

Very few of the letters *Ad Amicos* admit of being accurately dated, but together with *Epist. Graec.* 4, 5 they appear to lie between the years 159 and 165.

The letters *De Feriis Alsiansibus* belong to 161, the *De Eloquentia* and *De Bello Parthico* to 162, the *Principia Historiae* to 164, the *De Nepote Amisso* to 165, and the *De Orationibus* to 166. The *Arion* and the three *Laudes* were early publications, and may perhaps be placed about 140.

Everything points to the fact that Fronto died before 169. As he was born at the end of Domitian's reign, he would be over seventy at that date, and his health was very precarious for many years at the end of his life, as we see from abundant evidence in his correspondence. There is nothing to be found in the letters that necessitates a later date for Fronto's death. There is indeed a reference in the *De Orationibus* to Commodus—*non malim mihi nummum Antonini aut Commodi aut Pii*, and Mommsen, who takes this to refer to Commodus after his association in the Empire with Marcus in 177, is thus compelled to prolong Fronto's life till that year at least; but this seems less likely than to consider Commodus here to mean Commodus as Caesar only. He was named Caesar 12 October, 166. How indeed could Fronto have written to Marcus so late as 177 in these words, *dicas fortasse, quid in orationibus meis nouicium, quid crispulum, quid luscum . . . ? nondum quicquam; sed uereor. . . . Not yet*, when Marcus was fifty-six, and had reigned sixteen years, and Fronto would have been eighty!

For the convenience of the reader I here subjoin a table grouping the letters under approximate dates but not determining the exact order of each letter or group.

SYNOPSIS OF CORRESPONDENCE ARRANGED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE IN
CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

Year.		
139-140 ...	...	<i>Epistulae Graecae</i> 6-8.
140-3 ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> IV. 1-3.
" ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> III. (1) 2-12.
" ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> V. 59.
" ...	...	<i>Arion</i> and <i>Laudes</i> .
143 till June ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> I. 1-5.
143, July, August		<i>Ad Caesarem</i> I. 6-8.
" "		<i>Ad Caesarem</i> II. 1-11.
" "		<i>Epistulae Graecae</i> 1-3.
" "		<i>Ad Pium</i> I, 2.
143, after August		<i>Ad Caesarem</i> II. 12-15.
144-7 ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> IV. 4-13.
" ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> III. (13) 14-21.
" ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> V. 22-29.
147-161 ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> V. 1-21.
" ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> V. 30-58.

Year.		
147-161 ...	...	<i>Ad Pium</i> 3-9 (<i>Ad Pium</i> 7 = <i>Ad Amic.</i> II. 5).
„ ...	...	<i>Epistulae Graecae</i> 4, 5.
157-161 ...	...	<i>Ad Amicos</i> I. 1-5.
161 ...	...	<i>De Feriis Alsiensibus</i> 1-4.
161-2 ...	...	<i>Ad Antoninum</i> II. 1-4.
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Amicos</i> II. 1-4.
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Antoninum</i> I. 1-5 (6-10).
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Verum</i> I. 13, 4.
„ ...	...	<i>De Bello Parthico, ad Marcum.</i>
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Amicos</i> I. 7-14.
162 ...	...	<i>Ad Caesarem</i> II. 16, 17.
„ ...	...	<i>De Eloquentia, ad Marcum</i> 1-4.
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Verum</i> II. 6.
163-4 ...	...	<i>Ad Antoninum</i> II. 3-6.
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Verum</i> II. 1, 2, 7.
163-6 ...	...	<i>Ad Amicos</i> I. 15-25.
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Amicos</i> II. 6-11.
165-6 ...	...	<i>Ad Verum</i> II. 3-5, 8-10.
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Amicos</i> I. 6.
„ ...	...	<i>Principia Historiae, ad Verum.</i>
„ ...	...	<i>De Nepote Amisso ad Marcum</i> 1, 2.
„ ...	...	<i>De Orationibus ad Marcum.</i>
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Verum</i> I. 2.
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Antoninum</i> II. 7, 8 (9).
„ ...	...	<i>Ad Amicos</i> I. 6.

Nothing is known of the history of this book of Fronto's correspondence, or who compiled it. It must have been a relation or friend, who perhaps had access also to the domestic documents of the Imperial House. That Fronto kept copies of his letters may perhaps be inferred from a reference in *Ad Ant.* I. 2 (quoted above), where he recalls a letter which he wrote twenty years before. But we can hardly suppose that he kept copies of such trivial notes as V. 12, 14, 17, etc., and, if not, these must have been recovered from the royal archives. If Fronto did not himself collect his letters for publication, the most likely person to have done so was Victorinus, his son-in-law, and the school-friend of Marcus (*Capit. Vit. Mar.* III. 10). As the letters are not placed entirely in chronological order, it would seem that the editor did not know their exact dates, but he was evidently well acquainted with the general circumstances of the correspondence.

The Codex, which we have in palimpsest condition, consisted originally of three volumes, of which the central one has been lost. Of the 680 pages which composed the whole work, 388 alone remain. The lost portion may have contained more letters of the later period when Marcus was Emperor, and if so their loss is the more to be deplored. Or, as some think, the

speeches of Fronto may have been in the missing part. These we would gladly have recovered, for at present, besides the notorious passage on the Christians preserved by Minucius Felix, we have only one specimen of Fronto's oratory—namely, the long passage copied by Marcus (*Ad Caes.* I. 6). The late Professor Robinson Ellis in his address on Fronto, and more recently Miss Brock, however, state that no fragment of Fronto's speeches remains.

But even allowing for the loss of so great a part of the MS., we cannot help feeling surprised at the comparative meagreness of the collection, more especially in the section of letters to and from friends. Victorinus, though he was certainly away from Rome for a considerable time as *legatus* in Germany about 161 A.D., only appears four times. Letters between Fronto and L. Verus before the latter's association in the Empire would have been valuable as throwing light upon his position under Pius. It would have been interesting too to have the letters which Fronto wrote to his friends abroad about his proconsulship (see *Ad Pium* 8). It is disappointing to find Pius so poorly represented; and letters from Herodes, one of the best letter-writers of his time, would have been well worth having. But what has survived of the correspondence will repay study, and greater familiarity with it tends to correct the very disparaging estimate at first formed of its value.

C. R. HAINES.

GODALMING.

NEAERA AS A COMMON NAME.

THERE are two undoubted instances of this use of *Neaera* in Prudentius which are cited by Mr. Ullman¹ in support of his contention that in Horace another proper name may be similarly employed. I imagine however that to an unprejudiced sense of Latin usage these instances will themselves seem to be strange and in need of explanation.

Perist. X. 239 sq. (ed. Dressel, of Hercules and Omphale)

fusus rotantem cernimus Tirynthium :
cur si *neaerae* non fuit ludibrio ?

Contra Symmachum I. 135 sqq. (of Bacchus and Ariadne)

Hoc circumsaltante choro temulentus adulter
inuenit expositum secreti in literis acta
corporis egregii scortum quod perfidus illic
liquerat incesto iuuenis satiatus amore.
hanc iubet adsumptam feruens post uina *neaeram*
secum in deliciis fluitantis stare triumphii
regalemque decus capitis gestare coronam.

It is clear that the Christian writer is speaking in bitter contempt and using an opprobrious expression for a 'meretrix' or 'lasciua femina.' Now is there anything in *Neaera* or its history which will account for this? Let us examine the possibilities. And first that offered by etymology. According to an accepted and plausible derivation the name is formed, by means of a suffix very commonly used to denote females, from the stem *νεαρό-*, to which it stands in the same relation as *χίμαιρα* to *χίμαρος*. The word should then simply mean 'young woman,' and we are taken no nearer to our goal. But it may be thought that it acquired its objectionable colour through the reputed conduct of some particular *Neaera* of legend or history, just as *Helene* or *Thais* might have been used to express any *meretrix* or *lasciua femina*. But here too we are stopped. None of the nine legendary bearers of the name chronicled, not even the eloping wife of the Milesian Hypsikreon (no. 8 in Roscher's

¹ *American Journal of Philology* XXXIII. p. 457. Mr. Ullman's words are 'an exact parallel' (that is to the use which he supposes Glycera to have in Horace *Odes* I. 33) 'is to be found in the use of *Neaera* (one of the names, by the way, that Horace uses) by Prudentius, etc.'—I might be tempted to use this opportunity to rebut the

charge of misrepresentation of his theories which Mr. Ullman there puts forward; but the considerateness of the Editor in allowing Mr. Ullman's complaints to follow immediately upon my paper ('*Albius and Tibullus*,' *ib.* pp. 450-455) has happily made this unnecessary.

Lexikon), nor the hetaira whom the pseudo-Demosthenes attacked can be assumed to have had the notoriety that would entitle them to this particular distinction. The only possibility remaining is that this word derived its signification through association with another word of the same or similar form.

By the feminine of νεαρός stands a second νείαιρα or νέαιρα, a cognate of νείατος or νέατος (= ἔσχατος, nouissimus). On this word—which is found in Homer as an attribute to γαστήρ, e.g. in *Il.* 16. 465 τὸν βάλε νείαιραν κατὰ γαστέρα (that is ‘uentris inferiorem partem’ τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς κοιλίας Et. or. p. 108. 25) and in the medical writers, with and also without the substantive (e.g. Hippocrates 215 οὔρου ἀπόληψις καὶ βάρος ἐν νειαίρῃ σημαίνει εἰς τὰ πολλὰ στραγγουρίαν ἐσομένην: Callimachus Fr. ap. Stob. *Flor.* 81. 8 νειαίρην εἰς ἀχάριστον)—Eustathius *Il.* p. 580. 21 has preserved an instructive notice νείαιρα γαστήρ οὐ μόνον δι’ ἧς τὰ σιτία νέονται, ὃ ἐστι πορεύονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐσχάτη ὄθεν καὶ ἡ γυναικεία ὑστέρα μετείληπται.¹ To this use language furnishes numerous parallels, as νηδύς, uenter, aluus and γαστήρ itself.

The signification here vouched for by Eustathius is sufficient to account for the sense of *neaera* which we are considering; and its appearance in connexion with a proper name may be illustrated from names of women occurring in Attic inscriptions: Χοιρίλη, Χοιρίνη, Χοιρίς, Χοιρίδιον, Χοιρώ.² For the references to the inscriptions see F. Bechtel, *Die Attischen Frauennamen* p. 90. Another ex. is Κοχλῆς; compare Plaut. *Rud.* 704 with its play on *concha*. Bechtel seems right in adding Μελαινίς, comparing Herodas I. 79 with Athen. 86 Α παρὰ Σώφρονι δὲ κόγχῃ μελαινίδες λέγονται. Δελφίς, a hetaira in Lucian *Ἐτ. διάλ.* XIV. 1, *Delphium* in Plautus *Mostellaria* may, as Bechtel suggests, carry a similar implication (cf. δελφύς). The strange Latin name *Suauiulua* in Nos. 264, 265 of Audollent’s collection of *Defixiones* is, I should conjecture, another example, being simply a contraction of *Sua(ui)-ulua*. Lastly there may be cited the use of *cunnius* = *impudica*, for which two places in Horace are quoted, S. I. 2. 36 and 3. 107, though for this purpose they are not quite conclusive. The expression in the last passage ‘nam fuit ante Helenam cunnius taeterrima belli | causa’ stands in such sharp antagonism to that of Propertius II. 3. 35 sqq. ‘olim mirabar quod tanti ad Pergama belli | Europae atque Asiae causa puella fuit. | . . . digna quidem facies pro qua uel obiret Achilles. | uel Priamo belli causa probanda fuit’ that I think the contradiction between the two places something more than an accident.

¹ His comment on *Il.* 5. 616 I subjoin, though less relevant to our present purpose, νείαιραν κάνοαῦθα γαστέρα φησὶν ἢ τὸ τῆς γαστροῦς νείατον ἡγουν ἔσχατον ἢ ἐπιθετικῶς δι’ ἧς νέονται τὰ σιτία καθὰ προεῖρηται. καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς νέαιρα ὃ καὶ κύριόν ἐστι παρὰ τοῖς ὕστερον ὄνομα. παρὰ τὸ νέα μέντοι ἐκείνο ἵνα δηλοῖ τὴν νεαράν ὃ τις ἐπὶ τῆς γαστροῦς ἀστείσεται διὰ τὸ ἐνδελεχῶς νεάζειν αὐτὸν

εἰς ὄρεξιν· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ κύριον ὄνομα Νείαιρα. The reference is to *Od.* 12. 133 Φαίθουσά τε Λαμπετή τε | ὡς τέκεν Ἥελίφ Ὀπερίον δια Νείαιρα.

² From χοῖρος; cf. Varro *R. R.* II. 4. 10 ‘nam et nostrae mulieres, maxime nutrices, naturam qua feminae sunt in uirginibus appellant porcum, et Graecae choeron.’

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THE CAESURA IN VIRGIL, AND ITS BEARING ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE PSEUDO-VERGILIANA.

IN the heroic Latin hexameter, after the essential alternation of long and short syllables, by far the most important feature is unquestionably the caesura. Nevertheless, ancient writers on metre dismiss it with the most cursory notice; all we get from them is that the chief caesura is the penthemimeral, the trochaic and hephthemimeral coming next; the fourth trochaic and the bucolic are usually rejected, and the trihemimeral is mentioned only by Ausonius. Modern writers, among whom are Müller and Winbolt, deal with the question at greater length, but do not agree even on fundamental points, and often base their statements on an insufficient analysis of the extant remains of Latin hexameter verse. The purpose of the following paper is to attempt a more complete analysis, at least in the case of Virgil, the acknowledged master of the Latin hexameter. But before we proceed further there are two preliminaries which must be settled—what are the main types of caesura, and how many caesurae are admissible in one verse?

Of the six varieties of caesura recognized by ancient authorities, the fourth trochaic only occurs as the chief caesura four times in all Latin literature, and may therefore be ignored; and the bucolic, as its name implies, may be neglected in Heroic verse. Moreover in any verse of ordinary length it is a *sine qua non* of the caesura that it should divide the line approximately in half. This is not the case either with the trihemimeral or the bucolic, which may therefore be excluded from further consideration as main caesurae. There remain only the penthemimeral, the trochaic, and the hephthemimeral caesurae. As regards the penthemimeral and the trochaic, the presence of either practically excludes the other. Either of them however may, and often does, occur in conjunction with the hephthemimeral. Indeed the two combined forms,

arma uirumque cano || Troiae | qui primus ab oris
infandum regina || iubes | renouare dolorem,

are as common as almost any other type.

It is not easy to determine whether such lines should be regarded as having one caesura or two, and if only one is to be allowed, which should take the precedence. Most modern authorities however would probably agree that

one line can have only one main caesura, and we shall therefore assume this as at least a working hypothesis. Furthermore, by consent of all writers, ancient and modern, the penthemimeral is the chief caesura, and thus takes precedence of the hephthemimeral. In cases such as the second however the question is more difficult. Ancient writers differ as to whether the trochaic or the hephthemimeral caesura should take precedence, and in modern criticism great names, such as Meyer and Müller, may be found on opposite sides. Either caesura can stand alone, and though the hephthemimeral is found alone more frequently than the trochaic, its superiority in this respect is insufficient to determine the question of precedence.

Perhaps the best argument in favour of the trochaic caesura is that it is natural to accept the first available caesura in the verse. For instance, in a line beginning

infandum regina

we have no certainty that another caesura will follow, so that we should naturally adopt the first caesura as the principal one, and consider any other that may follow as subsidiary.

In the following analysis therefore we shall accept the penthemimeral as the normal type; failing that the trochaic; and only where both are absent shall we allow the hephthemimeral to be the main caesura. This is the most convenient arrangement, though in a large measure arbitrary.

Let us now take these three types in order. The simplest as well as the most common is the penthemimeral caesura, which occurs in about the same ratio throughout Virgil's works, in from $84\frac{1}{2}$ to $86\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of his lines. Besides the strictly normal type of

luctus et ultrices || posuere cubilia Curae,

there is one variant form which has not hitherto been commented on by any writer, although Virgil uses it more often than any of his successors, and indeed more often than any writer except Lucilius. This is the elided caesura—

Gorgones Harpyiaequae | et forma tricornis umbrae.

This elided form is extremely rare in the *Eclogues*, but occurs about once in every 25 lines throughout the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*. It is noticeable that in about two-thirds of these cases it is an enclitic *-que -ue* or *-ne* that is elided. Where the elision is harsher than this there is almost always a hephthemimeral break. To this rule there are only 37 exceptions, as against 180 lines which conform to it; whereas where the elided syllable is an enclitic there are nearly 200 lines which have no hephthemimeral break. Indeed Virgil, especially in the *Aeneid*, prefers to dispense with it in such a case, usually following the elision with a Molossus.

The trochaic caesura has a definite and even complicated model type. Virgil and all his successors felt it to be weak, and therefore usually supported it by a trihemimeral break, and followed it with an iambic word, thus adding

a hephthemimeral pause as well. Thus the normal type, found in 1,329 of the 1,497 lines of Virgil with trochaic caesura, is

sit mihi fas | audita || loqui, | sit numine uestro.

Only 6 lines are without either support, and all are designed to give some special effect, such as

falleret indeprentus et irremeabilis error.

The trihemimeral break is omitted 114 times, usually for a dactylic pause

orgia | nocturnusque || ciet.¹

The iambic word is less often dispensed with, only 60 times in all. We may notice that of these only 8 are of the abrupt spondaic type dear to Lucretius, which resembles too closely the end of a hexameter:

innumerum uersantque || tenaci.

Virgil's most common variation is exemplified by:

luna premit suadentque || cadentia.

The hephthemimeral caesura as a subsidiary form is frequent, being found with 9 trochaic caesurae out of 10, and with 5 out of 7 penthemimerals, but as the chief caesura it occurs only about once in 30 lines. With the Silver Age it fell still more into disuse, and only Juvenal and Silius employed it even to as great an extent as Virgil. It had found much more favour with Virgil's predecessors. Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius, and Cicero all employed it once in every 15 to 25 lines, but apparently it was too harsh for later ears.

There remains the difficult question whether there was a standard form of the hephthemimeral as of the trochaic caesura. The point has not been fully dealt with, but Dr. Verrall suggests in his article on *The Metrical Division of Compound Words in Virgil*² that, besides a trihemimeral break, the normal hephthemimeral caesura requires an elision after two feet, and that the last word before the caesura should be of the scansion — — — or — ~ ~ —. It should moreover be a compound word, divisible after the first syllable (or as an alternative the second syllable in the scansion — ~ ~ —), for instance *ab-iectos*, *im-modico* or *inter-erat*, the former giving a quasi-penthemimeral caesura and the latter a quasi-trochaic. The sole exception is that of proper names.

Dr. Verrall's normal type is therefore:

obstupuit | primo a-spectu || Sidonia Dido,

or with a proper name,

interea | media Aeneas || freta classe secabat.

Let us consider these characteristics in order. The first, the trihemimeral break, is analogous to what we find in the trochaic caesura, and on investigation we are not surprised to find it present in 88 per cent. of Virgil's

¹ Dr. Verrall, in his *Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship*, expresses tentatively the theory that in such cases a compound word giving quasi-trihemimeral pause was required. This is how-

ever only so in 59 cases, and is not found in 32; the remaining 23 contain names, and so give no evidence either way.

² *Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship*, p. 243.

hephtthemimeral caesurae, and to a greater or less degree in those of all other Latin writers. We may therefore accept the trihemimeral break as normal.

But if we are to accept Dr. Verrall's second and third characteristics, the hephtthemimeral caesura assumes an extremely complicated form. It demands in fact a compound word, of scansion --- or - - -, beginning with a vowel, and preceded by a word of scansion - - - or --, whose last syllable must be capable of elision. Such a combination seems too much to expect, even if we accept a proper name as an equivalent for the compound word. Yet in examining the lines of Virgil's works which have the hephtthemimeral as the main caesura, we find that 40 per cent. are completely normal, while another 15 per cent. are normal, except that a name takes the place of the compound word, and another 10 per cent. contain names which are not preceded by an elision. In fact only about one-third are abnormal without apparent reason. How do we account for this fact?

It is easy to explain the large percentage of examples in which the divergence is due only to proper names. It so happens that most of the principal names of the *Aeneid*, *Aeneas*, *Euander*, *Ausonii*, and *Italia* in its oblique cases, begin with a vowel and are of the requisite scansion, a form which can only find a place in two or three other positions in the verse. As to the other cases, it is true that Latin has a large number of compound words of suitable form, but not enough to account for their predominance. The facts seem to be as follows. Virgil feels that the hephtthemimeral caesura comes too late in the verse to stand unsupported—that in fact the first half of the verse is too long. An elision at the end of the second foot gives the illusion of a penthemimeral caesura; *Interea medium* is the normal caesura, until *Aeneas* is added and elides the final syllable. A break in the middle of a word, after the first syllable of the third foot, aids this semblance of a normal caesura, and lightens the burden which the hephtthemimeral caesura alone cannot carry. As a rule Virgil adopts one or both of these artifices; if we exclude proper names, we find that less than 7 per cent. of hephtthemimeral lines are without either. Moreover compound words of the requisite scansion, beginning with a vowel, are more common and more useful than the corresponding uncompounded words.¹ Thus the hephtthemimeral caesura cannot normally stand alone, but needs the assistance of the trihemimeral break and also of a quasi-penthemimeral break. Virgil however is much too good an artist to abide by any hard-and-fast rule, such as delighted the post-Augustan versifiers. He freely dispenses with either, though never with both of these artifices. There are only two lines of Virgil which have no caesura of any recognized type. These are

Aen. XI. 758. portat ouans ducis ex-emplum e-uentumque secutus

Aen. XII. 144. magnanimi Jouis in-gratum a-scendere cubile.

¹ In the 1,000 lines of Virgil beginning *Aen.* IV. 1 there are 272 words beginning with a vowel, and scanning - - -, or --. Of these 136 are compound words of the requisite type, while 75 are indivisible words, and 61 are names.

It will be seen that in both these lines the absence of the caesura is obscured by three subsidiary breaks:

1. The trihemimeral break.

2. A quasi-penthemimeral break formed by a compound word divisible in the middle of the third foot.

3. A quasi-hepthemimeral break given by a compound word divisible in the middle of the fourth foot preceded by an elision.

These or similar artifices are invariably used by all Latin poets after Lucretius when the regular caesura is omitted. A normal caesura is however only omitted in 31 lines in the whole of Latin hexameter verse, and of these 16 are pre-Virgilian.

It will be seen therefore that Virgil does follow very definite rules in his treatment of the caesura, rules which he only breaks on particular occasions with particular objects in view. A trochaic caesura he supports by the trihemimeral and hepthemimeral break, a hepthemimeral caesura by a trihemimeral break, and some modified form of penthemimeral caesura. In this he differs very decidedly from his predecessors, who had no such standards; while his successors stereotype his canons and use the different forms in varying proportions, but neither introduce any really new form, nor entirely abandon any of those he introduced. He is therefore unquestionably the originator of the accepted forms of caesurae.

Furthermore we have in his style, as will be seen from Tables I. and II., an unmistakable development through the three epochs of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, though we are unable to trace it in the subdivisions of these works.¹

Penthemimeral lines are about equally frequent throughout; but the elided type, scarcely found in the *Eclogues*, comes strongly into favour, and, as already mentioned, is more and more usually accompanied by a hepthemimeral break if the elided syllable is anything but an enclitic, while if it is an enclitic a second break is generally dispensed with. The hepthemimeral increases considerably in frequency throughout, and becomes more regular except for the inevitable number of irregularities due to names in the *Aeneid* and a slight increase of lines without the trihemimeral pause. The trochaic type develops less; it is however slightly more regular, especially in being more often followed by a hepthemimeral pause.

In fact Virgil, while varying his rhythm more and more as his style develops, does so in his later works not by violent and unusual caesurae, but by an increasing frequency of what may be called normal abnormalities.

Since Virgil followed such very definite rules for the caesura, and showed so marked a gradation of style, it should be possible to use this as a criterion,

¹ A comparison and analysis of the separate books of the *Aeneid* does not give any results worthy of note, except that the hepthemimeral caesura becomes slightly more rare from first to

last, and that the twelfth book shows an unusually large number of trochaic and elided penthemimeral lines.

or at least as an additional indication of the authenticity of any work attributed to him.

In the pseudo-Vergiliana the difficulties are increased by the corrupt state of the text, so corrupt that emendations often completely alter the rhythm. The analysis shown in Table III. however gives some interesting results, which, though necessarily inconclusive, make it probable that the *Culex* and perhaps the *Moretum* are genuine, while the other hexameter poems are not.

The *Lydia* and the *Dirae* are too short to give us anything to go upon. Both are exceedingly monotonous, and the latter especially is not unlike Cicero's work, with a very low percentage of trochaics, and those very irregular. In the *Dirae* 3 out of 6 are irregular, while 19 out of the 30 trochaic caesurae in Cicero's extant verse are of abnormal type.

The *Moretum* is also too short to give much result. Suffice it to say that there is no strong evidence against its being an early work of Virgil; it has no elided penthemimerals, and only one hephthemimeral, of type F. Otherwise the proportions are what we should expect.

Even in ancient times the *Aetna* was generally considered to be falsely attributed to Virgil. The trochaic caesura appears in 15 per cent. of the lines, an increase on Virgil which betokens a later date. The hephthemimeral caesura is rare, under 1 per cent. One would be disposed on the whole to consider it the work of a later writer who was thoroughly acquainted with Virgil's work, but copied him in a rather mechanical way without being able to suppress the influence of his own age.

There remain, excluding the elegiac *Copa* and epigrammatic fragments, only the *Ciris* and the *Culex*, both extremely corrupt. The *Ciris* has at first sight a Virgilian appearance, but the characteristics are against its authenticity. Hephthemimeral caesurae are extremely rare, there are but few trochaic caesurae, and we have four non-iambic variations of the trochaic caesura, three of which are of the spondaic type of

spelaeum multoque || *cruentas*,

common in Lucretius, but only found 8 times in all Virgil's works.

As to the *Culex*, there is no evidence against its authenticity, and much in its favour. The caesurae are exactly what we should expect from Virgil at a period just before the *Eclogues*. Elided penthemimeral caesurae are rare as in the *Eclogues*, hephthemimeral are frequent, and though there are none of completely normal type, 8 show the divided word giving a quasi-penthemimeral effect.

The unsupported hephthemimeral of line 357

fluctuat omnis in aequoreo

has no parallel in Virgil, but the manuscripts vary, some of them giving

omnis in aequoreo fluitat.

We shall therefore probably be justified in accepting this as the genuine *Culex* which Virgil is known to have written.¹

TABLE I.—ANALYSIS OF THE CAESVRA IN VIRGIL'S WORKS.

	Total Lines.	Penthemimeral.		Trochaic.		Hepththemimeral.		No Caesura.
		Normal.	Elided.	Normal.	Abnormal.	Normal.	Abnormal.	
<i>Eclogues</i> ...	830	708	4	91	16	4	7	0
<i>Georgics</i> ...	2,188	1,803	88	201	33	30	33	0
<i>Aeneid</i> ...	9,878	7,853	496	1,037	119	145	226	2
Total ...	12,896	10,364	588	1,329	168	179	266	2

TABLE Ia.—ABNORMAL TROCHAICS.

			A.	B.	C.
<i>Eclogues</i> ...	...	...	7	7	2
<i>Georgics</i> ...	...	...	16	17	0
<i>Aeneid</i> ...	...	...	85	30	4
Total ...	...	...	108	54	6

A=No trihemimeral break; e.g. *orgia nocturnusque ciet*.

B=No iambus after the caesura, i.e. no hepththemimeral break; *luna premit suadentque cadentia*.

C=A and B combined; *spargens umida mella soporiferumque*.

TABLE Ib.—ABNORMAL HEPHTHEMIMERALS.

		D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	K.
<i>Eclogues</i> ...		1	1 (1)	2	1	2	1
<i>Georgics</i> ...		8 (1)	7	8	7	1	3
<i>Aeneid</i> ...		30 (3)	51 (3)	21	44	55 (9)	43 (3)
Total ...		39 (4)	59 (4)	31	52	58 (9)	47 (3)

D=An indivisible word; e.g. *conuenit quando armatas*.

E=No elision; e.g. *coniciunt furit immissis*.

F=D and E combined; e.g. *nec ripas datur horrendas*.

G=No trihemimeral break; e.g. *obruit Auster aqua inuoluens*.

H=Name with elision; e.g. *dixerat et dicta Ilioneus*.

K=Name without elision; e.g. *accelerat simul Aeneas*.

In this table the figures in brackets indicate the number of lines also showing no trihemimeral caesura; i.e. of the G type as well.

¹ Dr. Lederer in his pamphlet *Ist Vergil der Verfasser von Ciris und Culex?* working on purely metrical grounds quite apart from the question

of the caesura, comes to the same conclusion, that the *Culex* is, while the *Ciris* is not, a genuine work of Virgil.

TABLE II.—PERCENTAGE ANALYSIS OF CAESVRAE IN VIRGIL'S WORKS.

	Penthemimeral.	Trochaic.	Hepththemimeral.
<i>Eclogues</i>	85·8	12·9	1·3
<i>Georgics</i>	86·4	10·7	2·9
<i>Aeneid</i>	84·5	11·7	3·8
Average... ..	85·0	11·6	3·4

TABLE IIa.—PERCENTAGE OF ABNORMAL TROCHAIC LINES.

	A.	B.	Abnormal in any Way.
<i>Eclogues</i>	8·4	8·4	15·0
<i>Georgics</i>	6·8	7·3	14·1
<i>Aeneid</i>	7·7	3·0	10·2
Average	7·6	4·0	11·2

TABLE IIb.—PERCENTAGE OF PENTHEMIMERAL LINES WITH ELISION.

<i>Eclogues</i>	0·6
<i>Georgics</i>	4·7
<i>Aeneid</i>	5·9
Average	5·4

TABLE IIc.—PERCENTAGE OF ABNORMAL HEPHTHEMIMERAL LINES.

	D and F Indivisible.	E and F no Elision.	F Type.	G Tri- hemimeral.	H and K due to Names.	Abnormal in any Way.
<i>Eclogues</i>	27·3	27·3	18·2	9·1	27·3	63·5
<i>Georgics</i>	25·4	23·8	12·7	11·1	6·3	52·4
<i>Aeneid</i>	13·7	19·4	5·6	11·8	26·4	60·9
Average	15·5	20·9	6·9	11·7	23·6	59·7

TABLE III.—ANALYSIS OF THE CAESVRA IN THE PSEUDO-VERGILIANA.

	Total Lines.	Penthemimeral.		Trochaic.		Hepththemimeral.		No Caesura.
		Normal.	Elided.	Normal.	Abnormal.	Normal.	Abnormal.	
<i>Lydia</i>	80	75	1	4	0	0	0	0
<i>Dirae</i>	101	93	1	3	3	0	1	0
<i>Moretum</i> ...	124	105	0	16	2	0	1	0
<i>Aetna</i>	644	529	9	89	11	3	3	0
<i>Ciris</i>	541	477	9	44	5	3	3	0
<i>Culex</i>	412	347	2	47	3	0	13	0

TABLE IIIa.—ABNORMAL TROCHAICS IN THE PSEUDO-VERGILIANA.

			A.	B.	C.
<i>Lydia</i>	...	...	0	0	0
<i>Dirae</i>	...	...	1	2	0
<i>Moretum</i>	...	...	1	1	0
<i>Aetna</i>	...	...	9	2	0
<i>Ciris</i> ...	...	...	1	4	0
<i>Culex</i>	...	...	3	0	0

TABLE IIIc.—ABNORMAL HEPHTHEMIMERALS IN THE PSEUDO-VERGILIANA.

		D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	K.
<i>Lydia</i>	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Dirae</i>	...	1	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Moretum</i>	...	0	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Aetna</i>	...	0	1	0	2	0	0
<i>Ciris</i>	...	0	1	0	1	0	1
<i>Culex</i>	...	0	9	3	0	0	1

Text used—For *Aetna*, Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*.

For the other poems, Ribbeck's large Teubner edition.

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CLAVDIVS AND THE *PRIMORES GALLIAE*.

THIS old difficulty has recently received a new explanation from the pen of Dr. E. G. Hardy (*Roman Laws and Charters*, pp. 133¹ sqq.). Dr. Hardy believes—and his view has met with some acceptance—that the disability, under which these Gallic candidates for admission to the Senate laboured, was the want of a *municipalis origo*. Up to this time, he contends, only Romans who were members of a town of Roman or Latin rights were eligible for admission to the Senate. Now in the Tres Galliae there were practically no such towns: these Gallic chiefs possessed the *civitas* individually by special grant and not as members of any municipality. Hence the door of the curia was closed to them while it was open to Romans from Lugdunum or Vienna.

I venture to think that this explanation is quite untenable. Several general considerations might be urged against it, but, what is more important, the one piece of evidence which Dr. Hardy can produce in support of it gives it, in my opinion, no support whatever. It is the following passage from the speech of Claudius (col. ii.):

Sane nouo m[ore] et diuus Aug[ustus au]unc[ulus m]e[us] et patruus Ti. Caesar omnem florem ubique coloniarum et municipiorum, bonorum scilicet hominum et locupletium, in hac curia esse uoluit. Quid ergo? Non Italicus senator prouinciali potior est? . . . Sed ne prouinciales quidem, si modo ornare curiam poterunt, reiciendos puto.

Dr. Hardy giving *ubique* its full force translates ‘throughout the Empire,’ and apparently thinks that the colonies and *municipia* alluded to are those in the provinces. But the phrase ‘*coloniae et municipia*’ is constantly used of Italian towns, and so comes to be an equivalent for ‘Italy’ (e.g. *Lex Agraria* 31, Sallust *Cat.* 17 and 58, *De Bello Gallico* VIII. 50, Mon. Anc. 21). The use is specially frequent in Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 79, III. 55, IV. 67, XV. 33, *Hist.* II. 20, 56, 62). In most of these passages the context shows that Italian towns are meant; in one case (*Tac. Ann.* III. 55), where this very subject of adlection to the Senate is being dealt with, there is no mention of Italy, but the phrase *coloniae et municipia* is used alone and in sharp contrast to *prouinciae*. ‘*Noui homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam prouinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti.*’ That the phrase here is equivalent to *Italia* is made

¹ There are two pages numbered 133 in the book, which is really two books bound together. My reference is to the second page 133.

practically certain by the parallel passage of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 9) 'honestissimo quoque *Italicorum* ac prouincialium allecto.'

That Claudius, in spite of his 'ubique,' used the words in the same sense, of towns in Italy, is to my mind abundantly proved by his very next sentence. 'Quid ergo? non Italicus senator prouinciali potior est?' Claudius here turns to answer an anticipated objection. The objection clearly is that these senators encouraged by Augustus and Tiberius were Italians, and are no precedent for the admission of provincials. Freely paraphrased the sentence means, 'But those were Italians, whereas you are proposing to bring in provincials, a very different thing.'

On Dr. Hardy's theory this mention of Italian senators is not easy to explain. According to him the distinction now at issue is not that between Italian senators and provincial senators, but that between members of *municipia* in the provinces, who have hitherto been admitted to the senate, and non-members, whom Claudius now proposes to admit. Why should Italy be dragged into a discussion which only concerns two classes of residents in the provinces?

I do not think, then, that *coloniae et municipia* in the speech of Claudius can mean towns in the provinces. If it does not, then the one argument in favour of Dr. Hardy's theory perishes, and we should do well to return to the view of Professor Pelham, to which I can see no serious objection.

H. J. CUNNINGHAM.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 34. No. 4.

A. C. Johnson, *The Creation of the Tribe Ptolemais at Athens*. A full chronological and historical discussion, as a result of which the establishment of this new Athenian tribe is assigned to 232/1 B.C. instead of 224/3, the date usually adopted. In the inscription I. G. II. 384 (of the same year as II. 5. 385b) the king whose name is erased is Antigonos, not Attalus, and it is to be assigned to 242/1. The dates of the archons between 262/1 and 232/1, which are all affected by the new date of the foundation of Ptolemais, are discussed and tabulated. E. B. Lease, *Neve and neque with the Imperative and Subjunctive*. Conclusion of the statistical paper begun in the previous number. W. S. Fox, *Mummy Labels in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Transcription with facsimiles of nine labels with explanatory and grammatical comments. T. L. Shear, *Inscriptions from Loryma and Vicinity*. Nine Greek inscriptions with epigraphical comments.

Athenaeum (Pavia). Vol. II., Part I. 1914.

C. Lanzani, *Principii di religione Dionisiaca*. Quotes from Homer and Herodotus and passes in review the theories of a Thracian and a Phrygian-Asiatic origin of Dionysus, his late admittance into Greece, and traces of his identity with other oriental deities (e.g. Indian Soma, Sabazius, etc.), but is mainly concerned in showing him to have been in later times a solar god in his earthly manifestations (Dendrites; Sykyles; Phytalmios, etc.) paralleled by Apollo the solar deity of the heavens, and by Orpheus the sun-god as man. C. Pascal discusses the first ten lines of the Aeneid in the light of an interesting mosaic discovered in 1896 at Susa in Tunis, which is said to be almost contemporaneous with Virgil and represents the poet as seated between two Muses, and holding a scroll containing the eighth line of the Aeneid. P. easily refutes the view of Jean Martin that the previous seven lines of the poem should be regarded as spurious, pointing out that the presence of the Muses in the picture is the reason for the choice of the line.

V. Costanzi adds a further note on *Zeus Thaulios*, demurring to the correction by H. v. Gärtringen of *Θαῦλος* in Hesychius into *Θαύλιος*, and distinguishing the two words; the form in *-ιος* being adjectival, derived from the original *Θαῦλος* (Maced. *Δαυλος*), a wolf-god. C. Pascal interprets the adjective *paeonius* (in Ovid *Met.* xv. 533-5 and Virgil *Aen.* vii. 769) as having some reference to a special herb called variously *pentorobon aglaophotis* and *glycysides* (see Apuleius *De medicam. herb.* C. 66, and Pliny, *N. H.* xxvii. 10).

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.

1913. Nov. 29. E. Engström, *Carmina latina epigraphica post editam collectionem Buechlerianam in lucem prolata conlegit* E. E. (Hosius). Some 450 poetical inscriptions. A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (Goessler).

Dec. 6. Th. Meyer-Steineg, *Kranken-Anstalten im griechisch-römischen Altertum* (Schonack). A sketch with references to sources. A. Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*. Hrsg. von J. Sieveking und L. Curtius (Sauer). Well edited, many excellent illustrations.

Dec. 13. E. Belzner, *Homerische Probleme*. I. *Die kulturellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als kritische Instanz*. II. *Die Komposition der Odyssee* (Cauer). In I the chapter 'Kulturstufen' in Cauer's 'Grundfragen der Homerkritik' is criticized. C. here replies at length. In II he praises, with some reserve, ch. 3 'Die Baukunst des Dichters.' W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* (Weinberger). The MSS of which facsimiles are given are specially interesting. *Festschrift zur 51. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (Tolkiehn). Includes a paper by R. Methner on Horace. E. Schwartz, *Kaiser Constantin und die christliche Kirche* (Bauer). Lectures. L. Laurand in an interesting note points out that the frequency of the epistolary use of the tenses is exaggerated in many grammars, e.g. Riemann, § 148, 'toutes les fois.' The fact is that a Roman *may* adapt the tense to the point of view of the recipient, but he is perfectly free. In most of Cicero's letters no such shift is found.

Dec. 20. A. Klotz, *P. Papini Stati Silvae*, it. ed. A. K. (Helm). Better than the first edition, but not satisfactory. Δ. Κ. Τσοποτός, *Γῆ καὶ Γεωργοὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει ἱστορικῶν πηγῶν* (Stählin). The German consul at Volo shows that the land system in Thessaly (large landlords and *δουλοπάροικοι*, serfs attached to the soil) was not introduced by the Turks, but was a continuation of the ancient system and is a natural result of the climatic conditions.

Dec. 27. R. Reitzenstein, *Zur Sprache der lateinischen Erotik* (Bürger). A short paper (36 pp., Winter, Heidelberg), but important for the light that it throws on Catullus. *The John Rylands Library. Brief Description, with Catalogue of a Selection of MSS. etc.* (Weinberger). Very welcome; a complete list of the MSS is very desirable. E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Weinberger). Very valuable for the study of the development of Greek or Latin writing. H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Schröder). Praised.

1914. Jan. 3. C. Robert, *Die Spürhunde von Sophokles, frei übersetzt und ergänzt* (Bucherer). Second edition, with illustrations showing how the play was performed in Germany. L. Castiglioni, *Osservazione critiche e grammaticali a Curzio Rufo* (Stangl). J. Schlageter, *Der Wortschatz der ausserhalb Attikas gefundenen attischen Inschriften* (Crönert). Useful. Good index.

Jan. 10. F. Fischer, *Thucydidis reliquiae in papyris et membranis Aegyptiacis servatae*. Collegit F. F. (Hude). J. C. Vollgraff, *Platonis dialogus qui inscribitur Phaedrus*, rec. J. C. V. (Ritter). The edition is useful, because it includes a copy of the Bodleian MS., but is otherwise unsatisfactory. W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Vol. 3, 579 pp. (from Nerva to Charlemagne) (Hosius). The sixth edition of this excellent reference book is edited by W. Kroll and F. Skutsch. Many of the articles on the poets are by Skutsch. The Christian writers are more fully treated than before.

Jan. 17. H. W. Garrod, *The Oxford Book of Latin Verse* (Helm). Praised. The Introduction interesting. G.'s text of the *Pervigilium* is preferable to Mackail's. F. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. Vol. 1, *Die archaische Literatur*, 496 pp. (Klotz). A history of literature for continuous reading, not a reference book like the valuable works of Teuffel or of Schanz in which the material for such a history is collected. It brings out clearly the connexion of Roman literature with Greek literature and philosophy and, in general, with the life of the time.

Jan. 24. W. Kroll, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Orator*, erkl. von W. K. (Stroux). The reviewer draws attention to some faults, but thinks that K. has contributed much to the understanding of the work. The notes on Cicero's language are specially good. K. v. Holzinger, *Die Aristophaneshandschriften der Wiener Hofbibliothek* (Rabe). The twelve MSS treated in great detail. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (Swoboda). Much praised. R. Dietrich, *Collectanea zu Artemidorus Daldianus* (Crönert). Indispensable for the thorough study of A. Published (1911-13) in 7 parts.

Jan. 31. T. Rice Holmes, *Cäsars Feldzüge in Gallien und Britannien* (Klotz). This abridged translation will make the results of H.'s important work known to a wider circle, but for more serious study the English originals will be indispensable. N. Wecklein, *Ausf. Kommentar zu Sophokles' Philoktet* (H. F. Müller). Aims at giving the teacher all that he needs.

Feb. 7. A. Siedow, *De elisionis aphaeresis hiatus usu in hexametris Latinis ab Ennii usque ad Ovidii tempora* (Bickel). Gives useful statistics.

Feb. 14. Schneidewin—Nauck, *Sophokles, Elektra*, erkl. von S.-N. (Bucherer). Tenth edition recast by E. Bruhn. The Introduction new. The notes specially good. B. has published as the eighth volume to the Weidmann Sophocles an 'Anhang' on the diction of Tragedy. By reference to this the notes are lightened and room is found to go thoroughly into difficulties. I. Stroux, *De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi* (Mutschmann). Throws fresh light not only on Th. but in general on ancient rhetoric. C. Halm, *P. Cornelii Taciti libri*, rec. C. H.; Ed. V cur. G. Andresen. I. [The Annals] (Stangl). Text and app. crit. very good. Index historicus 53 pp.

Feb. 21. O. Gilbert, *Griechische Religionsphilosophie* (Lortzing). The reviewer discusses this book (publ. 1911) at great length. While disagreeing for the most part from the author's views, he praises the work in many ways, especially the treatment of Anaxagoras, the earlier Stoicism, and Aristotle. H. Uhle, *Griechisches Vokabular in etymologischer Ordnung* (Bernhard). Seeks to aid the student in acquiring a vocabulary.

Feb. 28. R. Helm, *Lucian und Menipp* (Capelle). Discusses the book (which appeared several years ago) in considerable detail. J. Brix, *Plautus, Menaechmi*, erkl. v. J. B. (Köhm). Fifth edition, revised by M. Niemeyer. Many improvements, though not wholly satisfactory. *Roman Farm Management. The treatises of Cato and Varro done into English . . . by a Virginia farmer* (Becher). Warmly praised.

March 7. A. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* (Soltau). Throws new light on the development of the Roman constitution. Specially interesting is the comparison of Rome and Latium with the rest of Italy. The reviewer sketches the contents. Th. Stangl contributes to this number an interesting paper: *Wie alt ist die unchronologische handschriftliche Reihenfolge der oratorischen Bücher Ciceros?*

Classical Weekly (New York). 1913.

Dec. 6. M. N. Tod, *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks* (W. L. Westermann). 'This essay is a thorough piece of scholarly work, well organised and attractively written.'

Dec. 20. M. W. Humphreys, *Demosthenes on the Crown* (C. F. Smith). The teacher as well as the pupil will learn much from the notes about Greek usage.

1914. Jan. 10. J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (J. W. Hewitt). 'The excursus on the ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy . . . by Gilbert Murray is in my opinion the most valuable portion of the volume.' 'Miss Harrison's own work is stimulating and extremely (no weaker word will do) original.' 'The volume is "interesting but not conclusive," a stimulating companion, but a dangerous guide.'

Jan. 24. (1) H. Hirt, *Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre. Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage.* (2) K. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik. Vierte vermehrte Auflage*, bearbeitet von A. Thumb (Sturtevant). 'Hirt is readable and suggestive, and, in the main, a safe book to put in the hands of a beginner.' 'If one wants to find out what is known about any given topic of Greek grammar he will turn first to Brugmann-Thumb.' W. S. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism* (A. C. Johnson). F.'s 'researches in the documents of Hellenistic Athens have restored order out of chaos.' In these, his Lowell, Lectures 'he maintains the thesis that the age of Pericles was but the youthful bloom of the science of government. The vigorous maturity came in the days of Macedonian supremacy.'

Feb. 7. Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (W. A. Heidel). 'The latter half of the book rests in the main upon solid foundations, whereas the former half consists for the most part of a tissue of speculations and hypotheses which cannot be verified.' 'There is very much which deserves hearty commendation—far more than calls for protest and criticism.'

Feb. 21. E. A. Sonnenschein, *The Unity of the Latin Subjunctive* (C. E. Bennett). 'If obligation was the basal meaning of the subjunctive and optative in Indo-European, why is it that clear instances of the usage do not abound on every hand?' F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy* (J. W. Hewitt). 'A fresh and stimulating book, but one which the reader instinctively adorns with marginal interrogation marks.'

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1913.

Dec. 13. E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (W. Crönert). Superficial. C. H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien* (W. M. Lindsay). Discusses the diffusion of MSS. of Isidore throughout Europe, and gives a critical edition of the *Tituli*, verses in which he shows Isidore to have depended much on Martial. A. B. Drachmann, *Diodorus' römische Annalen bis 302 a. Chr.*, ed. A. B. D. (O. Leuze). A convenient collection with an improved text.

Dec. 20. W. Petersen, *The Greek Diminutive-Suffix -ισκο, -ισκη* (H. Meltzer). An attractive treatment of a difficult subject. C. Bardt, *Römische Charakterköpfe in Briefen vornehmlich aus cäsarischer und trajanischer Zeit* (J. Ziehen). Contains about eighty letters of Cicero and fifty of Pliny, tastefully translated, and with interesting comparisons from modern history.

1914. Jan. 10. A. Hausrath and A. Marx, *Griechische Märchen* (O. Weinreich). A charming collection of tales from Greek and Latin authors. E. W. Bowen, *The Annals of Tacitus*, Books I., II. (E. Wolff). The editor makes good use of the best authorities.

Jan. 17. S. Kriegbaum, *Der Ursprung der von Kallikles in Platon's Gorgias vertretenen Anschauungen* (B. von Hagen). Shows that the thoughts expressed by Kallikles were at the time widely diffused. A. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rigveda*, übers. von A. H. (L. von Schroeder). A selection containing about one-eighth of the hymns. R. Ganschienietz, *Hippolytos' Kapitel gegen die Magier* (A. Abt).

Jan. 31. J. Rasch, *Sophocles quid debeat Herodoto* (W. Aly).

Feb. 7. H. Slonimsky, *Heraklit und Parmenides* (W. Nestle). Deals chiefly with the question of the relation of perception to thought. F. W. Westaway, *Quantity and Accent in the Pronunciation of Latin* (A. Debrunner). Based on sound principles.

Feb. 14. W. Baeye, *De Macedonum sacris* (O. Weinreich). The worship of Dionysos, Zeus, and Ammon is prominent.

Feb. 21. W. Gebhardi, *Ein ästhetischer Kommentar zu den lyrischen Dichtungen des Horaz* (E. Stemplinger). Too wordy. M. W. Humphreys, *Demosthenes on the Crown*, ed. with introd. and notes by M. W. H. The strong point consists in the references to parallel passages in Greek and other literature. Th. Birt, *Römische Charakterköpfe* (W. von Dettingen). A striking picture of world-history in a series of portraits.

Feb. 28. K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum capita quinque* (A. Abt). Treats the cult-dances as protective ceremonials, either to guard a sacred rite or to frighten off demons. H. Mutschmann, *Tendenz, Aufbau und Quellen der Schrift vom Erhabenen*. H. F. Müller, *Die Schrift über das Erhabene*: deutsch von H. F. M. (J. Stroux). Mutschmann shows that the anonymous author cannot be dependent on Caecilius, for he stands for genius and energy as against correctness and rule. In suggesting Theodoros of Gadera as source, M. is less happy. Müller would have done well in his translation to seek more help from Rhys Roberts.

Hermes. Vol. 49. Part 1. 1914.

P. Friedländer, *Das Proömium der Theogonie*. Ll. 36-115 form a typical and technically complete hymn to the Muses where any reference to himself on the part of the poet would have been out of place. Hence the personal reference (1-35) is made to precede. C. Robert, *Pandora*, an examination of the myth in the light of the Pandora krater in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. A. Adler, *Die Commentare des Asklepiades von Myrlea*, argues (against Lehrs) that he is identical with the commentator on Pindar. U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsrechtliches zum Putsch von 411*. H. F. Müller, *Plotinische Studien II*, possible Oriental traits in P. P. Stengel, *Zu den griechischen Schwuröpfen*, on τόμα and ἱερὰ τέλεια. J. Brause, ΓΟΥΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΟΡΚΟΣ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΣ. O. Lenze, *Aedilis lustralis*, argues that this is equivalent to *aedilis quinquennalis*. U. Wilcken, *Plinius' Reisen in Bithynien und Pontus*. K. Uhlemann, *Zu Aristoteles Eth. Nic. III. 1*. Th. Thalheim, *Zu Antiphon*, comments.

MISCELLÉN. P. Wolters, 'Ακοαί in IG. iv. 955 l. 10, ordinary interpretation confirmed from *Life of Proklos* 32 p. 79. F. Leo, *Zu Satyros, βίος Εὐρυπίδου*, Hunt's Fragment 9 of *Ox. Pap.* 1176 is a quotation from *Odyssey* 463-6. A. Schulten conjectures ἦδη ὁ πορθμὸς for ἡδιοροδανὸς in Herodorus F. H. G. ii. 34. A. Stein, Heron's "Οροι to be dated by address to Διονύσιε λαμπρότατε, who is probably the prefect of Egypt in 188. F. Petersen points out that in Flinders Petrie, *Pap. vol. ii. p. 160* the fragment numbered xlix C is Fr. 22 and part of 60 of the *Hypsipyle*. C. Robert, *Ein verkanntes Ciris-Bild*, identifies a figure from the Domus aurea with Ciris.

Mnemosyne. 42. 1.

J. J. Hartmann, *Ad Plutarchi moralia annotationes criticae (cont.)*. On *An Virtus doceri possit: De virtute morali*: neither work is Plutarch's. Notes on text. K. Sneyders de Vogel, *De Verbis pronominalibus*. Takes pronominal uses, especially reflexive, found in Romance Languages and traces their development from Classical Latin through Late Latin. M. Boas, *De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione*. Exhaustive survey of MSS. Traces the growth of the collection from a combination of Cato and Avianus in the ninth and tenth century. M. Valetton, *De Iliadis Compositione (cont.)*. Many poets had sung of the tale of Troy: then came a great poet, the author of the *Mênis*, and made this the central point of a great epic. The *Wrath of Achilles* is the dramatic moment of the poem, and makes it epic and no longer only saga. The author of the *Mênis* or *Achilleis* is no diaskeuast but a creative poet. He uses older material. The *Patrocleia* is no integral part of the *Achilleis*. Achilles was not brought to fight by love, but yielded to the repentance of Agamemnon and the danger of the Greeks. Valetton then seeks to define the scope of the *Achilleis* more closely. The whole of Π-Ω is not part of it except the μῆνις ἀπόρρησις (to be continued). W. Wollgraff, *Ad Sophoclis Indagatores*. Restorations and emendations to the text: discussion of the *τριζύγης οἶμον βάσιν*. P. H. Damsté, *Ad A. Gellium*. Notes on text. I. H. Leopold, *De leone Delphico Croesi dono*. Reconstruction from dimensions in Hdt. I. 50. A. Slijpen, *Flavii Iosephi locus qui est de Iesu Christo*. Arguments for genuineness of the passage from the history of MS. tradition, and the lack of a motive for interpolation: interpretation of the words themselves. Ch. Ch. Charitonides, *χρήμα-χρήματα apud Herodotum*. Examination of use in Hdt. shows Pollux to be wrong in his generalisation (ix. 87) about the Ionic use of the word. M. R. J. Brinkgreve, *De locis nonnullis Statianis*. Notes on text.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. XXXIII. 1. 1914.

H. Diels, *Wissenschaft und Technik bei den Hellenen*. Applications of science to art and affairs, from Thales to Archimedes. W. Schick, *Zwei römische Kolossalstatuen und die hellenistische Kunst Syriens* (with plates). From the colossal bronze of a naked

prince in the Terme at Rome (Helbig, *Führer* II² No. 114), which he takes for Seleukos IV or, better, his son Demetrios I, and from the colossal gilt-bronze Hercules in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Helbig, *Führer*³ No. 1005), and its like, S. infers a Syrophœnician school in the second century B.C. The history of Græco-syrian sculpture is sketched; and the influence and meaning of the long-backed and round-shouldered pose of the Apoxyomenos are discussed. F. Dibelius, *Zur Geschichte der blauen Grotte auf Capri*. Its discovery, and reasons for connecting it with Tiberius. J. I., *Ein Brief Friedrich Ritschls*: in praise of Ribbeck (1858).

XXXIII. 2.

E. Löwy, *Zur Aithiopsis* (with plates). With the help of the kylikes of Pamphaios in the B.M. and of Duris in the Louvre, L. infers how the end of Memnon must have been told in the *Aithiopsis*; whence the *Iliad* must have drawn its odd tale of the end of Sarpedon (II 431 sqq.). Other debts of our Homer to the *Aith.* and the date of the *Aith.*, are discussed. B. Warnecke, *Die bürgerliche Stellung der Schauspieler im alten Rom*. The evidence is reviewed. Incidentally, the existence of *collegia* of players in the third century B.C. is denied. A. Bauer, *Hippolytos von Rom*.

Philologus. LXXII. Heft 3. 1913.

A. Müller, *Die Schimpfwörter in der griechischen Komödie*. A collection and discussion of the various terms. H. F. Müller, *Plotinus über die Vorsehung*. An enthusiastic vindication of Plotinus. His philosophy is essentially Hellenic. W. Soltau, *Classis und Classes in Rom*. Contends for the military, not timocratic, origin of the *classes* and *centuriae*. O. Könnecke, *Zu Theokrit*. Discusses Theocr. 7. 95 sqq., 10. 18, and 22. W. Gurlitt, *De hiatus in Dionysii Halicarnassensis De Antiquitatibus Romanis libris obvio*. (1) Statistics for hiatus; (2) Emendations of text. F. Lamert, *De C. Julii Solini Collectaneis a Guidone de Bazochiis adhibitis*. Gives particulars about Guido de B, who died 1203, and illustrates his borrowing from Solinus. Th. O. H. Achelis, *De Aristophanis Byzantii argumentis fabularum* I. A very full statement of the case for attributing ὑποθέσεις to Aristophanes. Part I. discusses the quotation from the *Etym. Genuinum*, etc., and gives an account of the extant ὑποθέσεις. A. Müller, *Der Schauplatz in Aristophanes' Wespen* V. 1123 ff. Argues (against Wilamowitz) that the scene took place in the open. S. Eitrem, *Die Hera mit der Schere*. This Hera is not ὀμφαλητόμος, as generally stated. Iron was very rarely used for this purpose, owing to superstitious dread (cf. Soran, *Gyn.* 80). Rather she represents the bride whose hair was cut short. H. Blümner, "Ἄλες. Shows that the metaphorical meaning of ἄλες = wit (Lat. *sales*), does not occur earlier than Plut. *Comp. Aristoph. et Menand.* 4 p. 854 c. In earlier passages, generally quoted, the word has a different sense.

LXXII. Heft 4. 1914.

P. Maas, *Verschiedenes*. (1) Strabo excerpts contained in Psellus; (2) Hesychius, father of Synesius; (3) Suggestions in Krumbacher's Moscow collection of proverbs, Theocritus (15. 8 read Δῖνος for τῆνος), Simmias, Alciphro, Aristophanes, Pindar. P. Corssen, *Die epischen Gedichte des Euphorion*. Criticisms of Suidas' notice: χιλίων ἐπῶν suggested for χιλίων ἐτῶν, Γῆς Περίοδος for Ἡσιόδος. In *Berliner Klassiker-texte* V. 273. 2 proposes λωϊτέρης for νωϊτερης. K. Svoboda, *Die Abfassungszeit des Geschichtswerkes des Polybios*. I-XXXI 21 were written down before 146 B.C. Publication began at end of Polybius' confinement at Rome, but only I-IV or V were then published. The work was resumed some time after 146, and finally brought to an end. G. A. Gerhard, *Der Prolog des Persius*. In this Choliambic piece Persius appears as the imitator of Hellenistic satire, not yet as the Roman satirist. A. Müller, *Die Schimpfwörter in der römischen Komödie*. The words collected and discussed. P. Lehmann, *Cassiodorstudien*. (iii.) A correction of Manilius;

(iv.) Isidore's dependence on Cassiodorus, illustrated by parallel passages. Th. O. H. Achelis, *De Aristophanis Byzantii argumentis fabularum* II. The ὑποθέσεις carefully analysed and compared. Here σκηνή, χορός, πρόλογος and διδασκαλικά are dealt with. O. Weinreich, *Ein Gedicht des Aristoteles*. Defends gen. φίλης frag. Arist. 673. R. E. von Stern, *Graffiti*. Inscriptions scratched on vases. A. Sonny, *Zur Moskauer Sammlung mittelhellenischer Sprichwörter*. Some further corrections. K. Preisendanz, *Die Homeromantie Pap. Lond. CXXI*. An arrangement of the fragments.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. XXXVII. No. 1. 1913.

L. Havet, Notes on the text of the Lives of Virgil (Donatus lines 286 sqq. Brummer, l. *praestauit* for *praestrui*) and Phocas 74, Hor. *Carm.* 1. 7. 23 (proposes *populna*) 28. 19 (omit *et* or *ac*) *Epod.* 2. 15, 16 (place before 11) 5. 55 (argues for *dum*), 15. 7, 17. 39, 16. 61-62 and 49, 50 (two alternative couplets from different editions of the epodes), *Carm. Saec.* 26 supports Bentley's *dictum stabilis per aeuum* by diplomatic considerations. P. Collomp, *A source of Clement of Alexandria and the pseudo-Clementine Homilies*. The excerpta ex Theodoto and the *Eclogae Propheticae* which follow the *Stromateis* of C. are seemingly extracts from a work frequently used for the *Strom.*; and the *Homilies* have drawn from this or a kindred source. J. Marouzeau, *The Value of the MSS of Seneca's Dialogues*. Protests against the unique importance assigned by recent editors to the Milan MS. A. P. Fabia, *The Embassy of Otho to the Vitellians*. Analysis of the account in Tac. *Hist.* 1. 74. A. Diès, *Platonica*, conjectures on *Theaetetus* 166a-168b and *Symposium* 186a-188e. L. Bayard, note on a Christian inscription and passages of S. Cyprian. C. Picard, *Inscriptions of the Theatre at Ephesus and the worship of the Ephesian Artemis*. Utilises the epigraphical material published by the Austrian Mission, *Forschungen in Ephesos* vol. 2. A. Burgery, *Notes on the text of Seneca*. Mostly in defence of the MS. tradition. B. Haussoullier, corrections in inscriptions of Selymbria, B.C.H. xxxvi. 1912, Nos. 9-11.

No. 2.

P. Préchac argues at length that the Epicurean of Cic. *Fam.* VII. 12. 1 (addressed to Trebatius) is Velleius (MSS. *Zeius*). L. Havet, the sign *l* or *l*. in the archetype of Varro's *Res Rust.* is a corruption of *Z* (= ζῆτε) affixed to obscure passages. P. Collart, *Nonnus as epigrammatist*. A collection of passages (e.g. XVII. 74-80) from his epic poem which show this quality. The same. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 198. 2 is an imitative allusion to the *Dionysiaca* (cf. id. 29. 273. 5. 2 etc.). L. Delaruelle, *On Livy's mode of writing history*: a sceptical analysis of IV. 17-19 (the episode of Cossus). P. Vallette, *Phoenix of Colophon and the 'Cynic' poetry*. His choliambics show 'Cynic' influence, that is all. D. Serruys gives reasons for thinking that Phoenix and the pseudo-Heraclitus belonged to a sect of Cynics which had qualified the doctrines of Diogenes by an admixture of those of Heraclitus. A. Diès, discussion of textual difficulties in the Ἑλένης ἐγκώμιον of Gorgias.

No. 3.

Ch. Joret, *The Lappa in Pliny and its equivalents in Theophrastus and Dioscorides*. *Lappa* is not the *Galium Aparine* of Linnaeus; but the *Arctium Lappa* or the burdock. J. E. Harry, conjecture on Eur. *I. A.* 1193. L. Havet, Tib. I. 10. 11 for *uulgi* read *Valgi* [Heyne's conjecture]. R. Pichon, on the *Atellanae*. In Livy VII. 4 the words '*conserta fabellis Atellanis potissimum*' mean '*constructed by the help of stories chiefly those of Atella.*' The same, *Critical Notes on the de uita beata*. On 4. 4 (as A), 7. 1 read '*iniucunda sed honesta*,' 13. 2, 3 read '*itaque non quod dicunt plerique* — *infamis est 'at immerito,*' etc. T. Walek, *An unpublished Delphian inscription*. Treaty of alliance between the Aetolians and Boeotians, assigned to B.C. 292.

No. 4.

W. H. Buckler, *Monuments of Thyatira*. A collection of twenty-one Greek inscriptions, with facsimiles and elucidations. P. Roussel, *Sale of Civic Franchise*. A note on the first inscription in vol. 2 of the *Forschungen in Ephesos* which has been misunderstood. It gives the conditions under which the full franchise might be obtained from the State for a sum of six minae.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. XLIX. 1. Festschrift for J. M. Stahl.

O. Seeck, *Die Reichspräfektur des vierten Jahrhunderts*. The office is a college of two praefects. Osiris and Typhos in Synesius' Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι are Aurelian and Caesarius. Valuable discussion of historical authority of the Codex Theodos. Chronology of Praefects from 379 to 387 A.D.: development and powers of the office since Diocletian. F. Philippi, *Zur Peutingerschen Tafel*. The Road-system of the Empire comes from the times of Hadrian: other geographical detail is due mainly to retouching; apparently we have a handy publication made from a monumental edition displayed on the wall of some public building: relation of the tabula to the *Geographus Ravennas*, etc. P. Cauer, *Der Verlauf der Kampfszenen in M und O*. Critical analysis: determination of points in common between the two books, and signs of adaptation to them elsewhere in the *Iliad*. The other parts which deal with the Three Days' Fighting are older than the *Fight at the Wall*, and yet show references to it: their relation with M is not so organic as that of O with M. P. E. Sonnenburg, *De Menandri Heroe*: to clear up the plot. L. Radermacher, *Prodikos bei Aristophanes*. Suggests tentatively that the verbal nicety attributed to Euripides in the *Frogs* is supposed to be learnt from Prodicus of Ceos. W. Kroll, *Randbemerkungen* (continued). XXI.-XXVII. on points of Latin idiom, criticisms on Baehren's articles, *Mnem.* 38. 395 sqq., *Philol. Suppl.* 12. 235 sqq., on ἀπὸ κοινοῦ constructions, etc. C. Hosius, *Zur italienischen Überlieferung des Lucrez*. F comes from (X) but has been emended by a good scholar; it makes it possible to control independent mistakes by L and provides ingenious and valuable conjectures. UV have some slight independent value. R. Wünsch, *Anmerkungen zur lateinischen Syntax*. Notes on history or origin of phrases; on genitive of apposition, construction of *invideo*, on *quod promisi institutum* etc. in Cato *Agri cult.*, pp. 11, 16. H. Winnefeld, *Zur Geschichte des syrischen Heliopolis*. Traces the history of the town mainly from coins and inscriptions. F. Koepp, *Das Gemälde der Schlacht bei Oinoe in der Stoa Poikile zu Athen*. On the historical pictures at Athens: the battle of Oenoe is to be dated about 456 B.C. K. Münscher, *Zu Sophokles Ichneutai*. Suggestions on the text: reconstruction of the action: the date probably between 468 and 458 B.C., as there is no clear sign of a third actor. E. Schweikert, *Strittige Interpunktionen in den Gedichten des Horaz*. Uses interrogation to explain certain difficult passages. So in C. III. 23 read question after *mica*, taking *hostia* as abl. of comparison, *farre et mica* as abl. of instrum. K. Witte, *Der Hexameter des Ennius*. Discusses the hexameter of Ennius as compared with Homer. Ennius' main practice is to have strong caesuras in the first half of the verse, weak in the second. This is in part due to the influence of the national verse, the Saturnian. Much good criticism of current generalisations on the historical development of the Greek and Latin Hexameter. W. Schwering, *De Ovidio et Menandro*. Notes on the form of the phrase in Plaut. *Poen.* 337-8 with parallels. In Ovid. *Ars Am.* I. 99 there is apparently an echo not of Plautus but of Menander, who is Plautus' source for the scene in question. Ovid's phrase is imitated by later writers. O. Hoffmann, *Das dorische ā im Trimeter der attischen Tragödie*. This is not explained adequately either by a borrowing from the chorus or by metrical convenience. The 'Rezitationsvers' must come from an Ionic form already partly Doricised before Tragedy began, viz., the Doric Satyr-play. The development to tragedy proper was made at Corinth and so the Dorian admixture precedes the origin of Tragedy in Attica. A. Elter, *Zu Andokides*, *Myst.* 68. Ando-

cides' family tree shows that here ἀνεψιὸς εἶς should be read for ἀνεψιοὶ τρεῖς. A. Brinkmann, *Zu Dionysius Brief an Pompeius und Demetrius περὶ ἑρμηνείας*. In Dion. p. 237: 1, 232. 5, there is a gap in the archetype. In p. 226: 5, 238, 7, the text is defended. In p. 238: 15 sqq., there is no reason to athetise the repeated words; in 246: 16 sqq., read δοκεῖ ὡς ὁ μυθεύμενος εἶναι . . . ἀκριβοῦς εἶναι ὡς . . .; in Demetr. § 58, read τοῖς τὸ καὶ τὸ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος λέγουσιν; in § 188 instances are given to support the conjecture λεπταῖς.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Vol. 42. No. 4. 1914.

A. Beltrami, *A new manuscript of the Moral Epistles of Seneca*. The writer continues his account of the *Codex Quirinianus* hymn in the last *Rivista*. He distinguishes the various hands and examines its relations to the other MSS. used by Hense in the Teubner edition. Of these the Laurentianus (L), which is about half a century earlier, is nearest to it. The Venetus (V) is closely allied to both, and also the Metensis (M), which is adduced as a corroborator of M. While Q agrees for the most part with the better MSS., it has on the other hand agreements, in good readings, with inferior MSS. and anticipates corrections of modern scholars (Erasmus, Madvig, etc.). Examples are given from *Epp.* 1-88. V. Ussani, *Fresh Gleanings from Horace*. Tyndaris, the name of the citharistria of *Carm.* I. 17 (traditionally identified with Canidia or Gratidia) may have been suggested by the Τυνδαρέοιο γαμβρός of Cercidas (*Mel.* II. 13) in a passage which bears a striking resemblance to Horace S. I. ii. 125 sqq. S. I. 4. 35: some support for 'non non cuiquam' is derived from a scholium of the pseud Acron. which is emended. S. II. 2. 42: he proposes *tum* for *cum* on the ground that *quando* is always temporal in Horace. S. II. 3. 51: would read *vāris* for *variis*. L. Pareti, *The Derivation of Rhegium in Strabo* (VI. 1. 6 p. 258c) and *the Samnite element in Bruttium*. An array of lexicological and historical arguments demonstrating that Pais' views on this passage are untenable. The Greek means that Strabo does not determine whether the city's name *Rhegium* is derived from the breaking (ῥηγγνύναι) of the Isthmus or from the Latin word corresponding to the Greek βασιλείον, the Samnites using a Latin word because their ancestors (ἀρχηγέται, i.e. the *Sabini*) were members of the Roman community and used Latin to a great extent (ἐπὶ πολὺ, or 'over a considerable extent of territory'). O. Nazari derives *fenestra* from the root of *-fendo* as an opening 'knocked out of a wall'; and connects *glōria*, whose double sense of 'glory' and 'boasting' is illustrated by κῦδος, κῦδιςτος, with *gli-sco*, so that it would be for *gloi-sia* (*gloeria*). M. Lenstrantin de Gubernates communicates a Latin inscription to one Erotiane. F. Pfister discusses the relations of the MSS. of the *Vita Alexandri Magni* with reference to F. Stabile's previous paper in the *Rivista*. A. Gandiglio proposes to understand 'oculis—inunctis' Hor. S. I. 3. 25 as 'unsalved eyes.' An appendix gives an account of some recent classical publications written in Russian.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1913.

Dec. 1. *Dikaionmata*, Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen in einem Papyrus des philologischen Seminars der Universität Halle, herausg. von der Graeca Halensis (F. Zucker) I. R. Marquart, *Die Datierung des Euripideischen Kyklops* (K. Busche). Dates it 412 with *Andromeda* and *Helena*. E. Fölzer, *Die Bilderschüsseln der ostgallischen Sigillata-Manufakturen* (Ph. Fabia).

Dec. 8. B. Maurenbrecher and R. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen Philologie*, III. 1. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. 1 Hälfte. *Die Literatur der klassischen Zeit*, von R. Wagner (J. Sitzler). 'There is too much reference to other works for information that should be given here.' A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth. Politics and Economics in fifth-century Athens* (Fr. Cauer). 'Shows a thorough study of the sources and a knowledge of the latest literature.' *Dikaionmata*, II. (F. Zucker).

Dec. 15. E. Belzner, *Homer und das vorhomerische Jahrtausend Griechenlands* (F. Stürmer). 'A valuable contribution.' F. Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* (W. Nestle). P. Remark, *De amphorarum inscriptionibus latinis quaestiones selectae* (A. Stein). 'Exceptionally good.' H. Bögli, *Beiträge zur Lehre vom ius gentium der Römer* (Grupe).

Dec. 22. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Reden und Vorträge*. 3. Aufl. (Nohl). H. Dachs, *Die λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου* (F. Stürmer). An exegetic and critical account of Aristarchus' *πρόσωπον τὸ λέγον*. K. Link, *De antiquissimis veterum quae ad Jesum Nazarenum spectant testimoniis* (M. Dibelius).

Dec. 29. F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*. I. (P. Viereck). G. Bloch, *La République romaine, les conflits politiques et sociaux* (A. Rosenberg).

1914. Jan. 5. M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern* (W. Dörpfeld). 'Very interesting and learned.' W. v. Bartels, *Die etruskische Bronceleber von Piacenza* (W. Schultz). C. Becher, *De codicibus in Ciceronis oratione Miloniana recte aestimandis* (Nohl).

Jan. 12. E. Nachmanson, *Historische attische Inschriften* (W. Larfeld). E. Biedermann, *Studien zur ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit* (A. Wiedemann). 'Careful and clear.' E. Kornemann and M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyri*, I. 3, herausg. von E. K. and M. M. (K. Wessely). From the Museum at Giessen.

Jan. 19. A. W. Verrall, *Collected Literary Essays and Collected Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship*, ed. by M. A. Bayfield and J. D. Duff (Fr. Harder). 'The reading of these volumes is always interesting, but for the most part the results appear more than doubtful.' A. Grenier, *Étude sur la formation et l'emploi des composés nominaux dans le latin archaïque* (P. E. Sonnenburet). J. T. Allardice and E. A. Junks, *An Index of the Adverbs of Plautus* (P. E. Sonnenburg).

Jan. 26. J. Dörfler, *Die Kosmogonischen Elemente in der Naturphilosophie des Thales* (Fr. Pfister). F. Boll, *Die Lebensalter* (W. H. Roscher). A contribution to ancient ethology and the history of numbers. 'An excellent little book.' A. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* (M. Gelzer).

Feb. 2. G. Leroux, *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée archéologique de Madrid* (H. Lamer). R. Herzog, *Die Umschrift der älteren griechischen Literatur in das ionische Alphabet* (J. Sitzler). 'Treated in a detailed and convincing way.' E. M. Walker, *The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia, its authorship and authority* (M. Gelzer). 'Deserves a numerous public in Germany also.'

Feb. 9. W. Sternkopf, *Cicero, Ausgewählte Reden*. 9. Bd. Die 7, 8, 9, und 10 *Philippische Reden*, erkl. von W. S. (A. Kornitzer). J. Tolkiehn, *Dosithei Ars grammatica*, rec. J. T. (A. Kraemer). R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, rec. R. F. VII (R. Asmus).

Feb. 16. C. Rothe, *Die Odyssee als Dichtung und ihr Verhältnis zur Ilias* (F. Stürmer). 'The leader of the tendency to regard the Homeric poems as a unity.' E. A. Mangelsdorff, *Das lyrische Hochzeitsgedicht bei den Griechen und Römern* (R. Berndt). A. Steier, *Aristoteles und Plinius* (H. Blümner).

Feb. 23. E. Fabricius, *Zur Ariovistschlacht* (R. Oehler). F. Stolle, *Das auf dem sogenannten 'Afterberg' angeblich aufgedeckte Cäsarlager eine 'Dichtung'* (R. Oehler). H. J. Edwards, *T. Livi Ab urbe condita libri. Praefatio. Liber I.* Ed. by H. J. E. (E. Wolff). 'Uneven, but with many excellent points.'

Mar. 2. L. Laurand, *A propos d'Homère. Progrès et recul de la critique* (Fr. Stürmer). 'Has shown the development of criticism from Wolf to the present.' E. Hauler, *Terentius, Phormio*. 4. Aufl. von E. H. 'An immense advance.' F. W. Shipley, *Preferred and Avoided Combinations of the Enclitic que in Cicero* (J. H. Schmalz). G. Hess, *Senecae ad Lucilium epistulae morales selectae*, erkl. von G. H. 2. Aufl. von R. Mücke (W. Gemoll).

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. V. Band, 3 Heft. 1913.

E. Schwyzer, *Word-studies*; ἔπος, the *asper* not etymologically justified (cf. ὄπρῡμν); κρόμμυον; ἄδεια; γεννᾶν from *γενεαεεν; περσύας; ἑκατόν: ἰλεβηρίς; οὐζύς = ὀ — *Fi* — ζύς with the root *sed* in the last syllable. J. H. Schmalz, (i) *Sentence-construction and Negations in Arnobius*, in cases like *vestem illa non norunt, sellas naves atque aratra compingere nec denique superlectilem ceteram* where *nec* is retrospective; (ii) *Mixed Constructions in Latin*, e.g. *me nullam aliam meae Fotidi malle* (Apul. Met. 3. 23) a contamination of *malle* and the construction of *praeferre*. Compennass, *Vulgaria, quam citius potest profectus est* (Mir. Thecl. 7), *aut non* for *annon*, *vel* = *saltem*, etc. Herbig, *Faliscan datives in -oi*, *l mouillé in Vulgar Latin*, of which a recent inscription supplies a good instance *piacet* from the year A.D. 101.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXXII. Band, 3, 4, 5 Heft. 1913.

This number contains (pp. 209-318) a very important article on *Qualitative Ablaut* in which Hirt submits to a searching investigation many points left unexplained in his previous researches as published in his work on *Ablaut* (1900), and his *Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (2nd ed., 1912): types like **bhoros* first appeared in the second elements of compounds; the European dialects show a vast extension of the *o* grade, while in Indian the lengthened grade (*Dehnstufe*) gained greatly in extent. Brugmann on ἄπτω and its cognates; E. Hermann rejects 'the artificial character' of late Laconian, and emphasizes its natural development. Günther, *Doric Infinitives*; Zimmermann casts doubts on the Etruscan origin of the name *Roma*.

XXXIII. Band, 1, 2 Heft. 1913.

R. Blümel (pp. 1-96) discusses, with numerous parallels from cognate languages, the origin and history of the *Bereichsakkusativ* in Greek. J. Scheftelowitz, *Indogermanic zg*. *Zg* became *jj* in Old Indian, and not *dg* as generally assumed. In Greek Idg. *z* did not disappear before *γ*, *β*, *δ*, *θ*.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. XLV. 4.

W. S[chulze], *An. ganga með veri*: Old Norse parallel to Lat. *ducere*, Skt. *vahati*. Paul Diehls, *Nochmals die spontane Nasalisierung*: such nasalisation in Swabian dialect is due to an old *-n-*. W. S., *Kypr. ἱγγία < ἔν-γία*: Goth. *ala-kjo*. R. Loewe, *Die Haplogie im schwachen Präteritum des Germanischen*: a defence of his theory against Collitz. *Althochdeutsch. w in Auslaut*: on the double representation by *o* and *u*. W. S., *Rom. ecco*; occurs first in Otfrid, 4, 24, 12. H. Jacobsohn: *Got. ōgs, lat. vel*. Discussion of question whether the latter is *impr.* or *injunctive*. Max. Niedermann, *Kleine Beiträge zur lateinischen Wortbildung*. *Lupānar* < **lupānal* formed on analogy of *Bacchanal* [*lupānar*: *Bacchānal* !]; *pulvicare* < **puluinus* + *cervical*. W. S., *Lat. ructus*: associated popularly with *ruptus*. *Dorisches in Thucydides* 5, 77, 79. W. Havers, *Miszellen. I. Randbemerkungen zu E. Löfstedt's Philolog. Kommentare zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*: (1) the diminutive, (2) temporal use of *sic*, *ita*, (3) pleonastic use of *inquit*, (4) *quam* for *quam si*. II. *Mederi* with Dative of the Person = 'jem. heilen.' III. *Ersatzwörter f. Formen des italischen verb. subst.* IV. *mulier quae mulier*. V. *Lat. penes* = 'nach jemandes Ansicht.' W. Schulze, *Zum Gedächtnis Adalbert Kuhns*.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY, 1914.

NOTES ON HORACE.

ODES, I. 3, 1 sqq. :

Sic te diua potens Cypri,
sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
uentorumque regat pater,
obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,
nauis, quae tibi creditum
debes Vergilium : finibus Atticis
reddas incolumem, precor,
et serues animae dimidium meae.

The *sic* of this passage is ordinarily taken as meaning, 'on this condition,' viz. the condition implied in *reddas* and *serues*. But du Mesnil (*Bremer Rundschau*, 1885, No. 258) urged that this interpretation was illogical. The fulfilment of the condition implied in *reddas* involves in itself the realization of the wish expressed in *regat*, and so makes that wish unnecessary. To this objection two answers have been made. Schütz expresses the opinion that the prayer is for the *perpetual* enjoyment of the favourable conditions enumerated in verses 1-4. But apart from the unnaturalness of this explanation, it involves the north-west wind as the perpetual attendant of the vessel. This would prevent its easy return to Italy. The other answer is that such 'matter of fact' criticism should not be applied to poetry. But to the minds of many (myself among them) this seems a mere evasion of the question at issue. Most students of Horace, I venture to say, are far from satisfied with the traditional interpretation of the passage.

Doederlein,¹ feeling the need of a clause of result after *sic*, proposed reading *ut* after *Vergilium* ; but this, while, of course, metrically possible, can hardly be considered the probable text, since result clauses with a parenthetical *precor* do not elsewhere occur. In my own edition of Horace (1901) I sug-

¹ Earle, *Classical Papers*, pp. 185 sq. (= *Proceedings of the Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxiv. pp. xxii. sqq.), has recently endorsed Doederlein's proposal.

gested that this idea of result might be secured in another way, viz. by regarding *reddas* as a jussive subjunctive explanatory of *sic*—‘guide thee thus, viz. bring him safe to Attic shores!’¹ This interpretation is in perfect keeping with the sense of the passage. It also receives support from two other passages: Cato, *De Agricultura*, 70, 2, ‘per triduum de ea potione uni cuique boui dato. Ita diuidito, quom ter uni cuique dederis, omnem absumas,’ ‘distribute it in such fashion, (that) when you have given it three times to each, you shall use it all up’; Martial, ix. 99, 1 sqq.:

Sic in gramine floreo reclinis,
qua gemmantibus hinc et inde riuus
curua calculus excitatur unda,
exclusis procul omnibus molestis,
pertundas glaciem triente nigro,
frontem sutilibus ruber coronis;
sic uni tibi sit puer cinaedus
et castissima pruriat puella:
infamem nimio calore Cypron
obserues, moneo precorque, Flacce!

The latter passage is precisely like the Horatian. The *sic* is explained by the following *obserues*—‘I hope you will enjoy the delights of Cyprus, bearing this in mind: avoid the dangers of the heated season!’ Wherever *sic* expresses a condition, the corresponding subjunctive or imperative invariably contains a request for some favour to be extended to the person speaking, in return for which the blessing contained in the *sic*-clause is entreated. There is a ‘quid pro quo.’ That any such notion is present in the Martial passage seems to me impossible. It may further be noted that the Horace and Martial passages are alike in that they both contain a parenthetic *precor*.

I. 12, 45 sq.:

crescit occulto uelut arbor aeuo
fama Marcelli.

Page renders this, ‘Marcellus’s fame grows by the silent lapse of time.’ That this conception would have been consistent with the thought which the poet here wished to convey may be freely admitted, but it is impossible that *occulto aeuo* should mean, ‘by the silent lapse of time.’ *Occulto*² *aeuo* could mean only ‘secret time,’ ‘hidden time,’ ‘concealed time,’ neither of which yields a satisfactory sense. The passage is really one of great difficulty, as is indicated by the fact that it has given rise to no fewer than three conjectures, while those who accept the traditional text vary widely in their interpretation

¹ Earle, *op. cit.* p. 186, calls attention to the fact that my explanation was proposed by Hunter in his edition of Horace as early as 1795. I have never seen a copy of this work.

² There are no other meanings of *occultus*. The

fact that several modern editors have assumed a meaning to fit their conceptions of the exigencies of this particular passage cannot alter the facts of Latin usage.

of the words *occulto aeuo*. Some take these words as dative; others as ablative (manner, separation, quality, time). It would be a gratuitous task to discuss the various renderings suggested for this phrase. Their very number and variety are a sufficient indication of the difficulty and uncertainty of the expression. Nor is help gained by Heinsius's conjecture of *aruo* for *aeuo*, or by Peerlkamp's *Marcellis* for *Marcelli*. Nevertheless, conjecture furnishes our best hope of securing an acceptable meaning for the passage. My own conviction is that Horace here wrote *occulte*, and I have so printed in my own edition of 1901. The adverb *occulte*, 'imperceptibly,' occurs with *decrescit* in Lucretius I. 314: 'ferreus occulte decrescit uomer in aruis'; with *labitur* in Ovid *Met.* x. 519: 'labitur occulte fallitque uolatilil aetas.' In Horace, *Epp.* I. 1, 80, we have 'multis occulto crescit res faenore,' where *occulto*, if retained, must go as adverb with *crescit*. The notion of 'secret' or 'hidden' interest can hardly be taken seriously. Here also I should read *occulte*, and should attribute the error in both cases to the confusion of some copyist who falsely associated the word with *aeuo* and *faenore*. Another solution would be to keep *occulto*, the archaic form of the adverb; but surely the poet would have avoided the possibility of a false association of the word with the substantive in each sentence, and would consequently have chosen *occulte*. At all events I desire to urge that the adverb be here recognized, since the meaning, 'grows imperceptibly,' 'grows gradually,' is the only one that adequately meets the demands of the context, and at the same agrees with the usage of the Latin language.

I. 16, 5 sqq.:

non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius
non Liber aequae, non acuta
sic geminant Corybantes aera,
tristes ut irae.

Barring π' , all MSS. have the reading *sic* in line 8 of this ode, and Keller, *Epilegomena*, p. 66, is clearly right when he asserts that *sic* was undoubtedly the reading of the archetype of our extant MSS. of Horace. Nevertheless, Bentley's conjecture *si* (the reading also of π') has enjoyed no little favour, being read by Müller, Kiessling, and Vollmer, not to mention editors of less authority. I shall not attempt to enumerate the telling arguments already urged against the acceptance of this change, but desire to call attention to an important consideration which, so far as I am aware, has never been taken into account. If we read *si*, *aequae* is then correlative with *ut*. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* shows no instance of *aequae ut* before Pliny the Elder and even after that time the usage is extremely rare, the variant *et* or *ac* alternating with *ut* in many of the passages for which some MSS. give *ut*. The *Thesaurus*, it is true, does seem to suggest the occurrence of three instances of *aequae ut* earlier than Pliny the Elder; but none of these will bear scrutiny. The three

instances are : Varro, *Sent.* 26 ; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 94 ; ' quis cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar ? aequae atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus quibus rem publicam populi Romani curam esse sentiebat ' ; Seneca Rhetor, *Cont. Exc.* 4, 8 ; ' aequae dignus est poena qui ipse vim adhibet et qui ab alio admota ad lucrum suum utitur. ' No one of these citations, I repeat, will bear scrutiny. The *Sententiae* of Varro in the form in which they have descended to us are admittedly late. The Cicero passage is grossly misinterpreted. In this, *ut* does not go with *aequae*, but with an *inimicus* understood ; the correlative of *aequae* is *atque* ; *ut* is here equivalent to *sicut*—' as hostile as he was to the Senate, just as he was to all who really loved the Commonwealth. ' In the passage from Seneca Rhetor, Kiessling's text gives, not *aequae dignus ut*, but *aequus et*, and this without any critical variant. If, therefore, Horace be credited with the employment of the locution *aequae ut*, it will be the first instance in Latin literature. It will also be the only instance in any poet, and (granting the soundness of the other instances cited in the *Thesaurus*) one of eight instances, at most, in the entire literature down to the time of Lactantius. The other seven instances given in the *Thesaurus* are attributed to Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Fronto (2), Gaius, Ulpian, Apuleius. That a searching examination of the textual authenticity of these passages might completely undermine the foundation of the locution *aequae ut* is not impossible. In the Apuleius passage (*Apol.* 14), *aequae ac* is apparently the better attested reading ; only one MS. has *ut*. At all events, the attribution of the usage to Horace seems, under the circumstances, most hazardous.

II. 18, 7 :

nec Laconicas mihi
trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.

On this passage, Kiessling¹ observes : ' *trahunt purpuras* wird jetzt in der Regel von dem Tragen purpurner Schleppgewänder erklärt. Weshalb aber Horaz, um den Reichen zu charakterisieren, Ehrbarkeit und Putz gerade der Klientinnen hervorhebt, bleibt unklar. Einfacher ist die Erklärung, welche *trahere* von dem Spinnen bez. Weben der Purpurwolle verstand. ' Despite Kiessling's conclusion, I hope to show that the interpretation, ' trail their purple robes ' is alone possible.

In support of the meaning, ' spin, ' ' weave, ' Kiessling cites Varro, *fr.* 190, B ; simul manibus trahere lanam. But it is a pure assumption to attach to *trahere* in this passage the meaning of either ' weave ' or ' spin. ' Harper's *Latin Dictionary*, it is true, defines *traho* as meaning ' spin, ' ' manufacture ' (I. B, 8), but without justification. The true meaning is shown by an examination of the passages in which the word occurs. The most important (if not all) of these are the following :

The Varro passage cited above.

¹ 5te Auflage, besorgt von Richard Heinze.

Juvenal ii. 54 sqq.:

uos lanam trahitis calathisque peracta refertis
uellerā, uos tenui praegnantem stamine fusum
Penelope melius, leuiusque torquetis Arachne.

Ovid. *Met.* xiv. 264:

quae uellerā motis
nulla trahunt digitis nec fila sequentia ducunt.

Ibid. xiii. 511 (Hecuba, speaking of Penelope):

quae me data pensa trahentem
matribus ostendens Ithacis, 'haec Hectoris illast
clara parens.'

Ibid. ii. 411:

lanam mollire trahendo.

Id. *Heroides* iii. 75:

nos humiles famulaeque tuae data pensa trahemus.

But in all these passages the word means 'card' not 'spin.' In the citation from Juvenal we clearly have a reference to two processes connected with the working of wool: (1) the carding; (2) the spinning. Schütz, in his note on the Horace passage, cites the passage from Juvenal as supporting the meaning 'spin'; but he cannot have intelligently examined the context. Weidner, in his note *ad loc.* correctly interprets, "you card the wool and carry the carded fleeces in baskets." The spinning is subsequent, and is obviously referred to in the words: *tenui praegnantem stamine fusum torquetis*.

So, too, in the three passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (two of which Schütz cites in further support of the sense of 'spin') the sense is 'card,' as is distinctly recognized by Siebelis and Polle in their notes on these passages. The context of xiv. 264, in fact, makes the meaning 'spin' impossible, for the nymphs are said neither to perform the operation indicated by *uellerā trahere* nor to spin (*fila sequentia ducunt*). In *Met.* xiii. 511, the idea is that Hecuba shall be compelled to perform the most menial and servile tasks, among which carding was certainly one of the humblest. The same notion is at the basis of the lines quoted from the *Heroides*, as indicated by the words *humiles, famulae*. In *Met.* ii. 411, *mollire* could not apply to spinning, but does apply perfectly to carding, by which the matted and tangled fibres of the wool are disengaged and made soft and flexible. The Varro passage alone fails to give internal evidence of the meaning of *trahere*, but in view of the other established instances of the signification of the word, it presumably bears the same meaning here also. At least, the passage furnishes no evidence in support of the meaning 'spin.'

The meaning 'card' is also a perfectly natural one for *traho*, as the word regularly connotes a certain inertia or reluctance on the part of the person or

thing to which it applies. An expression like *fila sequentia trahunt* (instead of *ducunt*, as above) would be impossible.

The situation, then, is this: *trahere* can mean 'card' and is found in this sense combined with *lanam*, *pensa*, *uelleria*. Can it be taken in the passage from Horace in the same sense with *purpuras*? This raises the question of the meaning of *purpurae*. Horace elsewhere uses this word of the dye or of the finished garment—e.g., *Odes* III. 1, 42; IV. 13, 13. Nor does any other writer seem to use it of purple wool—the sense that would be demanded here. Moreover, the Romans did not card the dyed wool, which would have involved needless waste. They dyed it after carding. See Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 504; Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste*, i. p. 221. It seems clear, therefore, that *trahere* cannot bear the sense of 'card' in our present passage, for the conception of carding either the purple dye or purple garments would be absurd.

On the other hand, *trahere* can mean 'trail,' 'draw after one,' of a garment, and is so used in Hor. *Ars Poet.* 215; 'trahere per pulpita uestem.' Under the circumstances, this seems to be the necessary meaning in the passage in *Odes*, ii. 18, 7 sq. Porphyrio, to be sure, does take the phrase as meaning 'work the purple' (*purpuram carpere*), adding that the wife of a candidate for office was assisted by the wives of his clients in preparing the official robe in anticipation of the candidate's election. But whether this is true or not, it can have no bearing on the passage under discussion. More likely than not Porphyrio's explanation is pure invention devised to fit his false interpretation of the line.

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A TRANSPOSITION IN PROPERTIUS.

IN the ninth elegy of his third book Propertius withstands the encouragements of Maecenas, who has urged him to attempt heroic themes.

Maecenas eques Etrusco de sanguine regum, 1
intra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam,
quid me scribendi tam uastum mittis in aequor ?

He declares himself unequal and unsuited to the task : different minds have different aptitudes ; Lysippus excels in one craft, Calamis in another ; some race afoot and some in chariots ;

hic satus ad pacem, hic castrensibus utilis armis :
naturae sequitur semina quisque suae. 20

So far his weapons of defence are taken from a common armoury ; but in the next verses he develops the *argumentum ad hominem* which was foreshadowed in 'eques' and 'intra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam.' Such promptings, says he, come strangely from Maecenas, whose own discreetness and self-repression will be famous in history, and whom he is resolved, so far as in him lies, to imitate.

at tua, Maecenas, uitae praecepta recepi, 21
cogor et exemplis te superare tuis.
cum tibi Romano dominas in honore secures
et liceat medio ponere iura foro, . . .
parcis et in tenues humilem te colligis umbras,
uelorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus. 30
crede mihi, magnos aequabunt ista Camillos
iudicia, et uenies tu quoque in ora uirum,
Caesaris et famae uestigia iuncta tenebis :
Maecenatis erunt uera tropaea ~ —.

I hold my hand over the last word of u. 34 and I challenge the reader to guess it. He cannot : remember it by chance he may, but guess it he never will. Its sense indeed he knows or thinks he knows : it is a word meaning *modestia* ; for nothing else would be coherent or even reconcilable with what the poet is saying. If the true trophies of Maecenas are anything other than the 'iudicia' which place him beside Camillus and the 'uitae praecepta' which Propertius has taken for his own, they must on no account be mentioned.

The difficulty is to find a word of this sense which will suit the metre; but from passages like Plaut. *Bacch.* 613 'sine modo et modestia sum' and Cic. *de off.* I 15 'in omnium quae fiunt quaeque dicuntur ordine et modo, in quo inest modestia et temperantia' it appears that *modus* sometimes approaches the abstract sense of *modestia*: probably then the hidden word is *modus*.

I take my hand away and the word is *fides*. Out leaps the keystone from the arch, and the poet's whole edifice of argument collapses into ruin. The true trophies of Maecenas are nothing related, however remotely, to Camillus in the past or Propertius in the present: they are his loyalty to his illustrious friend.

From this scene of dissolution let us avert our gaze to II 1 17-42.

quod mihi si tantum, Maecenas, fata dedissent	17
ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus,	
non ego Titanas canerem. . . .	
regnaue prima Remi aut animos Carthagini altae	23
Cimbrorumque minas et benefacta Mari:	
bellaue resque tui memorarem Caesaris, et tu	25
Caesare sub magno cura secunda fores.	
nam quotiens Mutinam aut ciuilia busta Philippos	
aut canerem Sicalae classica bella fugae. . . .	
te mea musa illis semper contexeret armis,	35
et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput.	
Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles,	
hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden.	
sed neque Phlegraeos Iouis Enceladique tumultus	
intonet angusto pectore Callimachus,	40
nec mea conueniunt duro praecordia uersu	
Caesaris in Phrygios condere nomen auos.	

The difficulty of the couplet 37 sq. has not, like that of III 9 33 sq., escaped the notice of interpreters: it has now been under discussion for more than a century and a half. First of all we must determine the meaning of the verb *testatur*. *testari aliquem* usually means *testem adhibere aliquem*, to take some one to witness. In what circumstances and for what purpose do Theseus and Achilles take to witness Pirithous and Patroclus? Translators add matter which is not in the Latin, and consequently differ in what they add. One explanation—that the two heroes cite their two comrades to convince the incredulous denizens of their two worlds that such a friend as Maecenas can actually exist—is best dismissed, as Vahlen *Sitzb. d. kön. Akad. d. Wiss.* Berlin 1882 pp. 279-80 dismisses it, without a word of comment; but here is the other: 'Achill, dem Patroklos bis in den Tod treu geblieben, Theseus, der dem Pirithous bis in die Unterwelt gefolgt, rufen, jener vor den Göttern der Oberwelt den Patroklos, dieser vor den Göttern der Unterwelt den Pirithous zum Zeugen auf stets bewährter Freundestreue.' Achilles then,

according to Vahlen, cites Patroclus to testify that he, Achilles, has been a true friend. But Propertius does not say so, and would be foolish if he did; for he cannot imply that Caesar cites Maecenas to testify that he, Caesar, has been a true friend; while if it is Maecenas who cites Caesar, Caesar is compared to Patroclus and Maecenas to Achilles. The words of the author, as they lie before us, contain neither the absurd meaning which Vahlen rejects nor the irrelevant meaning which he approves; indeed, if 'testatur' is to have the sense we have hitherto been giving it, they seem to me to contain no meaning whatsoever. But *testari aliquem* is capable of other senses; for instance in Luc. III 122 '*uictorem clara testatur uoce tribunus*' it means that Metellus expostulates with Caesar and protests against his action: it cannot of course have any such meaning here in Propertius, but I quote the example to show that the sense of the phrase is not rigidly fixed. Now *testari* c. acc., when the acc. is the name of a thing, often means to bear witness of something and to keep its memory alive, as in Prop. III 7 21 '*sunt Agamemnonias testantia litora curas*'; and the acc. may be the name of a person, as in III 13 51 '*torrida sacrilegum testantur limina Brennum*': the portal of Apollo's temple, scorched by the lightning launched in its defence, is a memorial of Brennus and his assault. This is not quite parallel to *testatur Menoetiaden*, for the presence of an adjective makes the meaning plainer; but it is analogous; and I understand our distich thus: 'Theseus before the lower world, Achilles before the upper, bear witness, the one of Pirithous, the other of Patroclus.' Theseus in hell and Achilles in his isle of Leuce are everlasting remembrancers of their less famous comrades and keep their character and story from oblivion: no one sees the knight but he recalls the squire; so indissoluble is the bond.

The couplet therefore is quite germane in sense to the poet's theme, which is the close tie between Caesar and Maecenas; but it has no relation to the sentences around it. The comparison which it evidently contains is not a comparison to anything present in the context; and hence the natural perplexity to which it has given rise. Vahlen *opusc.* I pp. 303-9 undertakes its defence without understanding what it is that he has to defend. He adduces a number of passages like Pind. *Nem.* IX 39 sqq. λέγεται μὰν Ἑκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθήσαι Σκαμάνδρον χεύμασιν ἀγχοῦ, βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἀμφ' ἀκταῖς Ἑλῶρου . . . δέδορκεν παιδὶ τοῦθ' Ἀγησιδάμου φέγγος ἐν ἀλικίᾳ πρώτῃ (i.e. ut Hectori ad Scamandrum gloria floruit, sic Chromio ad Helorum iam in prima adulescentia) to prove that the poets often make comparisons without using *ut* or *sic* or any particle of comparison to advertise what they are doing; and having established this point at unnecessary length (though length, to be sure, is always necessary when Vahlen is the writer) he plumes himself as follows, p. 309: 'speramus fore, hoc dicendi genere, quod poetarum artem imprimis decet, plenius perspecto, ut desinant critici haec integerrima uerba (u. 37, 38) et hoc poeta maxime digna, quia exempla allata comparationis uinculo carent, in corruptelae aut interpolationis crimen rapere.' Here are two ignorationes elenchi; one in 'quia comparationis uinculo carent,' one in 'corruptelae aut

interpolationis crimen.' The trouble is not the absence of a 'comparationis uinculum' but the absence of the other term of the comparison; it is not that the distich has no hook to hitch it to the context, but that there is no context to which the hook, if provided, could be hitched. Supply the 'uinculum,' and try.¹

te mea musa illis semper contexeret armis,
et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput.
sic Theseus infernis, *sic* superis testatur Achilles,
hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden.

Whither can *sic testatur* be referred? Not to the adjective *fidele*, and certainly not to the sentence *te mea musa illis contexeret armis*: Propertius is not comparing Theseus with himself. The words *Theseus testatur Ixioniden* contain a comparison with some relation of Caesar to Maecenas, but that relation is nowhere specified. Again, when Vahlen 'sperat fore ut desinant critici haec integerrima uerba et hoc poeta maxime digna in corruptelae aut interpolationis crimen rapere,' he ignores the greater part of the criticism which he ought to be answering. Most critics who suspect the passage suspect it neither of corruption nor of interpolation, and fully agree that the words are 'integerrima' and 'hoc poeta maxime digna.' Fonteine and Struve thought the couplet interpolated, Lachmann and Baehrens thought it corrupt; but these are a minority. What Burman said was this, 'hi uersus, *quantumuis Propertii genium spirantes*, quomodo huic loco conueniant, non facile quis dixerit'; and what he proposed was to place the lines elsewhere, though he could find them no more suitable seat than between I 19 6 and 7. Volpi on the other hand had written in 1755 'fortasse post hoc distichon aliqua desiderantur'; and most of the malcontents agree with him that the difficulty of the passage is due to a lacuna.

This lacuna can now be filled. The verses 37 and 38 are one member of a comparison whose other half is lost; and its lost half has been found already, imbedded in an alien context and rending asunder like the wild fig the masonry in which it has struck root.

Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles,	II 1 37
hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden;	38
Caesaris et famae uestigia iuncta tenebis:	III 9 33
Maecenatis erunt uera tropaea fides.	34
sed neque Phlegraeos. . . .	II 1 39

Even as Theseus preserves Pirithous from oblivion, and Achilles Patroclus, so will Maecenas be inseparably linked with the renown of Caesar. Pind. *Nem.* IX 39 sqq. and the other examples amassed in Vahlen's six pages are parallels, not, as he represented, to verses 37 and 38 standing lone and lost, but to the pair of distichs which I have put together.

If this were prose, the third verse would need the personal pronoun, '*tu*

¹ Since the distich is appended, not pre-fixed, the particle will be *sic*, not *ut*: II 21 11 'Colchida sic hospes quondam decepit Iason,' Ouid. *met.* XV 855 etc.

tenebis.' But in poetry the nominatives *tu* and *ego*, even where contrast or emphasis seem to demand them, are often omitted. A good parallel is furnished by Hor. *serm.* II 3 211-3.

Ajax, immeritos cum occidit, desipit, agnos:
cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanis,
stas animo?

In prose it must have been '*tu cum prudens*' etc. I add a few more examples out of many: Hor. *epist.* II 2 91 '*carmina compono, hic elegos,*' Ouid. *her.* VI 135 '*prodidit illa patrem, rapui de clade Thoanta,*' XII 187 '*si tibi sum uilis, communis respice natos,*' XVII 99 '*quam multos credis iuuenes optare, quod optas,*' XIX 185 '*quod cupis, hoc nautae metuunt,*' Luc. II 292-5 '*gentesne furorem | Hesperium ignotae Romanaque bella sequentur | diductique fretis alio sub sidere reges, | otia solus agam?*' Sometimes even both of two contrasted pronouns may be omitted: Mart. V 13 9 '*quod sum, non potes esse.*'

When they enquired of Solon why he had provided in his code no penalty for parricide, he answered that he thought nobody would ever do such a thing; and there prevails a tacit assumption, no truer than Solon's, that transpositions of this nature do not occur. They do occur, as anyone can ascertain who cares to know; but their occurrence is disquieting, so they are noticed with reluctance and rapidly forgotten. I will here hand over two specimens of the offence to be dealt with *more maiorum*: sew them up together in the usual sack and drown them according to precedent in Lethe.

The first shall be Ouid. *trist.* III 11 21 sq. In a thirteenth century MS, Paris. 7993, this distich is missing from its place and found between IV 7 18 and 19: '*Sphingaque et Harpyias serpentipedesque Gigantas | centimanumque Gyan semibouemque uirum. | in causa facili cuius licet esse disertum | et minimae uires frangere quassa ualent. | haec ego cuncta prius quam te, carissime, credam | mutatum curam deposuisse mei.*' This transposition has no apparent cause, but the second example is different. In one family of the MSS of Germanicus' *phaenomena* the seven verses 387-393 are placed between 285 and 286. Their omission after 386 seems to be a pure accident, but the place of their insertion can be explained by a cause to which I have alluded in my notes on Manil. II 232 and 330. A reviser notices that certain lines have been left out and adds them at the end of the book. Then comes a copyist who wishes to put them back in their place: where is that? The first verse of the seven, 387, is '*nec procul hinc dextra defundit Aquarius undas*': he turns over the leaves, lights upon 285 '*dextra manus, latices qua fundit Aquarius, exit,*' and there he inserts them. The Propertian couplet III 9 33 sq. may have wandered to its present abode in the same way. It contains the names *Caesaris* and *Maecenatis*: the scribe who finds it astray looks about him for a context, and in III 9 he sees *Maecenas* at u. 21 and *Caesar* at u. 27.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE TEXT OF THE *BELLUM GALLICUM*¹ AND THE WORK OF H. MEUSEL.

EVERY ONE who has used Dr. Meusel's excellent edition of Caesar's *Bellum Civile* will welcome the first volume, comprising Commentaries I.-IV., of his final edition of the *Bellum Gallicum*. Nominally, each of the two books is a revision of the work of other men,—in the former case of Kraner and Hofmann, in the latter of Kraner and Dittenberger; really each, especially the latter, contains the fruit of so much independent research that the personalities of the older editors are obscured. That part of the joint work of Kraner and Dittenberger which corresponds with the revision consisted of 199 pages; the revision extends to 464. As Meusel remarks in the Preface, it is no longer intended for the use of schools, but of teachers and classical scholars. The historical introduction and the section on the Roman army, which retain much of Kraner's work, have been carefully retouched; many of the footnotes have been corrected or rewritten; many, both on linguistic points and on the subject-matter, have been added. But what places this edition in a class by itself is its amazingly thorough Critical Appendix. Although it deals with less than half of the *Bellum Gallicum*, it fills 118 closely-printed pages; and it would have filled half as many again if, in the case of all those variants and passages of doubtful authenticity which the editor had already discussed, he had not contented himself with merely referring to his published writings.

Few English scholars have critically studied the text of the *Bellum Gallicum*, and very little is known here about Meusel's critical work. In a valuable handbook, recently published, I read that for the constitution of the text seven MSS. only are of value, five of which belong to a group descended from 'a common parent α ,' while 'to the second group β belong two MSS. (TU) [now generally designated *ah*], presenting a text which has been polished at some period by an editor who has endeavoured to tone down Caesar's terse and vigorous style by touches of Ciceronian elegance';² and again, 'The first class was preferred by Nipperdey and others, while the second has found a champion in Meusel.' This observation seems to suggest that

¹ *C. Iulii Caesaris commentarii de bello Gallico* erklärt von Fr. Kraner und W. Dittenberger. Siebzehnte, vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage von H. Meusel. Erster Band. Mit einer Karte von Gallien von H. Kiepert und drei Plänen.

Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1913.

² It is true that in certain passages the writer of the archetype of β deliberately altered Caesar's text; but even α is not free from gratuitous emendation.

Meusel prefers the second class. It would be more true to say that he recognizes its independent value.

The truth is that not seven only, but nine MSS. are indispensable, and that to β belong not two only but four, which are known as a , f , h , and l , the two former belonging to the family π , the two latter to the family ρ . Both a and β , we all know, are commonly regarded as derived from the same archetype, X ; but A. Klotz¹ has argued that the archetype of all the extant MSS. was a copy belonging to β , and that a is descended from a copy belonging to the same group, in which readings from a MS. of the sixth century, published by Julius Celsus Constantinus and Flavius Licerius Firminus Lupicinus, were inserted. Meusel² has admitted that the pedigree which Klotz constructed may conceivably be right.

Nipperdey not only preferred a , he rated β very low; but the evidence on which he based his judgement was inadequate. He was ignorant of h and l , and in his time a had not been accurately collated. Those who desire fuller information on this point should read the preface in Meusel's critical edition of 1894.

Let us see what Meusel has done for the constitution of the text. To begin with, he contributed two articles to the *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin* of 1885 and 1886, in which, after fixing the correlation of the various MSS., he proved that in many passages, besides those in which Nipperdey had been compelled to have recourse to β , its readings were to be preferred to those of a , and definitely established its worth.³ Then followed the publication of his great *Lexicon Caesarianum* (1886-1893), which only just misses perfection because the collation of the best MSS. was not then complete, and therefore some of the readings are inaccurate. Meanwhile, however, Meusel himself collated the Ashburnham MS., known as S —one of the a group—which had been previously neglected, and also a , f , and h , correcting numerous errors which had been made by his predecessors, Dübner, Frigell, and Holder. Detlefsen furnished him with a collation of the Vatican MS. known as M , belonging to a , which in about four hundred passages differed from the collation of Frigell and from the one used by Dübner. Meusel examined these passages and found that Detlefsen was almost always right. Thus in 1894, soon after the last part of the *Lexicon* had appeared, he was able to produce an edition which for the first time offered a satisfactory *apparatus criticus*. In the same year he published in the *Jahresberichte* an article of 185 pages, in which 761 passages were minutely examined with regard to grammatical considerations, to the context, and to Caesar's use of language.⁴

¹ *Rheinisches Museum*, 1910, pp. 224-34.

² *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 1912, pp. 18-21. These *Jahresberichte* are published as supplements along with the *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen* and in the same cover.

³ These articles were preceded by one in the

Neue Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie of 1885, in which Meusel showed that, as regards the use of a and ab , β is much more trustworthy than a .

⁴ Mr. W. E. P. Pantin, in a letter which I have just received from him, says 'I found that the '94 article interested me much, though I had no special interest in the text of Caesar,

For several years his time was fully occupied by professional duties; but in 1910 he published in the *Jahresberichte* an article of 75 pages, dealing with passages which he regarded as spurious. I have briefly noticed his arguments, which often confirmed or reinforced those of other scholars, in my own modest edition. Of the valuable reviews of Caesarian literature which he has contributed to the *Jahresberichte* I need not speak.

There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that Meusel takes sides with β against α . On the contrary, whenever he finds the two groups at variance and cannot discover a particular reason for preferring one to the other, he follows α . Independently I came to the same conclusion myself thirteen years ago.¹ In the *First Commentary* Meusel decides in favour of α 100 times, in favour of β 64; he decides in favour of one family or of one or more MSS. of α 20 times, of β 19. In the *Third Commentary* the corresponding figures are 94, 76, 7, and 9. Those who have studied Meusel's writings know the scrupulous impartiality with which he weighs the testimony of rival MSS. and the candour with which he welcomes well-reasoned correction. What he and his fellow-workers have done is to show that α does not deserve the preference which Nipperdey and his disciples ascribed to it, and that β deserves to be treated with respect. Indeed Nipperdey, although he was so imperfectly informed, tacitly admitted the claims of β ; and the editor of Caesar in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, who made no use of f and l , did the same. In the *Seventh Commentary* Mr. Du Pontet adopted the readings of β , or of MSS. belonging to β , 153 times, although he never did so if any way of escape was open; and of these readings 84 are not noticed in his *brevis adnotatio critica*.

What I propose to do now is to show how far the text has been purified by Meusel, Walther, Richter, Rudolf Schneider, Klotz, and others; how far it must, unless better evidence comes to light, remain uncertain.

First, as to interpolations, real or supposed. In some cases Meusel's arguments seem to me conclusive; in a small majority he has, I think, shown that the passages in question are at least suspicious; but he is sometimes sure when his arguments do not seem to warrant more than doubt, and his attitude is generally that of a counsel for the prosecution rather than of a judge. I will give one instance. The paragraph² which describes the course of the Meuse and of the Rhine was long ago branded as spurious by von Göler and others. Meusel devotes to it three pages of destructive criticism; and Klotz,³ after an even more elaborate examination, independently came to the same conclusion. My own opinion is that they have discovered ground for mistrusting the authenticity of the passage, but that some of their arguments are more or less

because it gave me so much information as to the written Latin of the time of Caesar. Anyone who wants to know what is classical Latin (in that sense) should work at that article of Meusel's. If it had been issued as a separate work, it would be as well known in England as Lebreton's book on Cicero.' I may add that the

two earlier articles are equally valuable; and if I can persuade even a few English scholars to study all three, this little paper will not have been written in vain.

¹ *Classical Review*, 1901, p. 175.

² iv. 10.

³ *Cäsarstudien*, pp. 36-43, 135-38.

weak, and that there is hardly one which, taken by itself, could not be, I do not say refuted, but reasonably answered. The description of the Rhine, says Meusel, is irrelevant; and the Meuse rises not in the Vosges, but on the plateau of Langres, both of which regions Caesar had visited. Strong reasons have been given for believing that the Batavi did not occupy the delta of the Rhine before the time of Augustus; and in iii. 28, 1 Caesar does not couple them with the Menapii and the Morini,—the tribes which, ‘while all the rest of Gaul was tranquillized, remained in arms.’ The Rhine did not flow through the country of the Nantuates; the geographical position of the Triboci is mis-stated; in the list of the Cisrhenane tribes the Rauraci, Nemetes, and Vangiones are ignored. The statement that the Rhine, as it approaches the sea, ‘branches off into several channels and forms numerous large islands’ is absurd. The Menapii occupied both banks of the Rhine ‘not far from the sea’; therefore there was no room for the Batavi and the ‘fierce rude tribes’ which are said to have occupied ‘many’ of the ‘numerous large islands.’ Caesar would not have written *parte quadam ex Rheno*, but *parte Rheni*; *caput fluminis* elsewhere [in prose] means not the mouth, but the source of a stream; Caesar would have written *longius* immediately before *milibus passuum LXXX* instead of separating *longius* from *milibus* by *ab Oceano*; he would not have used the quasi-poetical expression *citatus fertur*, and he would have written *partem magnam . . . incolunt*, not *pars magna . . . incolitur*.

Cannot something be said in reply? Irrelevant the description of the Rhine certainly is; but is vi. 24 strictly relevant, and is it not conceivable that even Caesar may occasionally have been tempted to digress? Could every general be trusted to state accurately in what part of the theatre of a war which he had waged this or that river rises? It is by no means certain that the Batavi did not occupy the delta of the Rhine before the time of Augustus; Lucan,¹ who aimed at accuracy, mentions them among Caesar’s auxiliaries; and J. H. Holwerda² argues from archaeological and literary evidence that the settlement took place in Caesar’s time. Caesar may have forgotten to couple the Batavi with the Menapii and Morini, just as in vii. 77, 14 he omitted to couple the Teutoni with the Cimbri; nor, indeed, is it certain that the Batavi, if they already occupied the delta of the Rhine, were in the same category with the Menapii and Morini.³ Even if they were, Caesar would have left so inaccessible a tribe unmolested.⁴ Certainly the Rhine did not flow through the country of the Nantuates; but Meusel himself now adopts the reading of π , — *Nemetum*. The misstatement of the position of the Triboci and the omission of the Rauraci and Vangiones are evidence of carelessness, but not conclusive evidence of late authorship. The writer, whoever he may have been, was misinformed about the delta of the Rhine; why should not Caesar have been misinformed? ‘Not far from the sea’ (*non longe a mari*)⁵ refers, as Meusel himself says, to the neighbourhood of

¹ i. 431.

² *Mnemosyne*, 1913, pp. 1-9.

³ *ib.*

⁴ He did not attack even the Menapii in 56 B.C.

⁵ iv. 1, 1.

Xanten and Cleve, above the first bifurcation of the Rhine; the *insula Bataavorum* was below. Nor is one disposed to yield unreservedly to the linguistic objections when Meusel himself admits that *prognati* (ii. 29, 4) is poetical, and that *brevitas* (ii. 30, 4) is used by Caesar in a sense which is elsewhere found only in poets and later writers. There is, however, if the text is right, one gross geographical mistake in the chapter, which I pointed out in 1899,¹ and which Caesar would not have made. He would not have written *per* (fines), but *praeter*; and this objection could only be countered by supposing that *p̄ter*, an abbreviation of *praeter*, was confounded with *per*. Moreover, though a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, the metaphor is not here applicable; the authenticity of a paragraph which is assailable from so many sides is certainly open to grave suspicion; and I am only pleading that no passage should ever be condemned before due consideration has been given to all that can be said in its defence.

Let us now attempt to classify the readings which Meusel's *apparatus* presents. Everyone who systematically studies the text will observe a considerable number of passages in which obvious errors of the archetype were long ago corrected by emendations which have commanded universal assent. Thus in i. 1, 5 *Oceano* has been substituted for *oceanum*; in i. 10, 5 *Segusiauos* for *sebusianos*; in i. 16, 5 *praerant* for *praerant*; in i. 25, 3 *inflexisset* for *inflexisset*; in i. 28, 5 *parem* for *partem*, and so on. The reader will also unhesitatingly cancel a large number of readings exhibited now by α , now by β , now by a family or MS. of either, which are so manifestly wrong that no editor would defend them. Next, perhaps, he will consider various passages, well known even to those who have not busied themselves much with textual problems, which are so corrupt that an editor must either adopt some one of the numerous emendations which they have evoked, or devise a new one, or merely obelize. A typical example is in i. 24, 2, where $MB^2\beta$ have (ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quattuor ueteranarum [ueteranorum X]) *ita uti supra se* (in summo iugo duas legiones quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat et omnia auxilia conlocari ac totum montem hominibus compleri et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri et eum ab iis [his X] qui in superiore acie constiterant muniri iussit); while in place of the words which I have italicized χB^1 have *ita uti supra. sed.* Meusel originally adopted what Klotz calls the desperate remedy of bracketing *ita uti supra se* and *ac totum montem hominibus compleri et interea*. He has now adopted, as I have also done, a conjecture proposed by Klotz,² which is at all events far better than any other, not only yielding perfect sense, but being palaeographically sound:—(ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quattuor ueteranarum;) *in summo iugo duas legiones quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat et omnia auxilia conlocavit, ita uti supra se totum montem hominibus compleret; impedimenta sarcinasque* (in unum locum conferri et eum ab

¹ *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 492; ed. 2, 1911, p. 482, n. 7.

² *Cäsarstudien*, p. 239.

iis qui in superiore acie constiterant muniri iussit). In my edition and in my other books I have noticed every passage of this sort; and Meusel has of course discussed all that occur in his first volume. Turn now to the passages which Meusel handled in his memorable article of 1894. They deal exclusively with orthographical and grammatical questions; questions relating to style were reserved for later treatment. The independent value of β having been established, it was impossible, in deciding between variants, to appeal to authority; to follow α blindly would have led to hundreds of mistakes. Meusel treated every case upon its own merits; and his great Lexicon furnished him with a useful instrument. But I need hardly say that he did not merely compare Caesar with Caesar; wherever an appeal was possible, he appealed to the context or to recognized grammatical principles. In the great majority of instances his decision seems to me to be sound. Often he achieves moral certainty; and when probability only has been attained, one must acknowledge that his method was the only method available. Occasionally he has been able to revise his judgements. For instance, in 1894 he believed that Caesar had written *mensium* (i. 5, 3; vi. 18, 2); but the researches of C. Wagener¹ have since convinced him that the true form is *mensum*. Let me give a few specimens of his work. In v. 35, 5 α has (cum a prima luce ad horam octauam) *pugnaretur*; β has *pugnassent*. The former is preferable because Caesar, in describing the duration of a battle, almost always uses the passive. In v. 25, 4 α has (L. Plancum cum legione . . . in Carnutes proficisci iubet ibique hiemare, quorumque opera) *cognouerat* (Tasgetium interfectum, hos comprehensos ad se mittere); while in β we find *cognouerit*. Meusel remarks that it is quite conceivable that Caesar, after stating in § 3 that Tasgetius had been put to death, and that the assassination had been reported to him, should have proceeded to imply, as he must have done if he wrote *cognouerat*, that he had ascertained the names of the assassins. Conceivable, but, considering the context, and particularly the words *Hunc [Tasgetium] inimici palam multis ex ciuitate auctoribus interfecerunt. Defertur ea res ad Caesarem*, improbable. 'The names,' says Meusel, 'of the actual murderers—the *inimici* of Tasgetius—were perhaps reported to Caesar; but it was, of course, more important for him to render the instigators of this political murder, who were also his own antagonists; powerless for mischief. In the interval between the report [mentioned in § 3] and the dispatch of Plancus he could not have identified the ringleaders; for not only was there no time (*Plancum celeriter proficisci iubet*), but the distance (Caesar being at Amiens) was too great. Therefore it is almost certain that Plancus had to institute the investigation on the spot, and accordingly *cognouerit* is necessary.' Meusel, of course, utilized all that was good in the work of his predecessors. Thus, after remarking that in vi. 36, 3—*magna multitudo calorum, magna uis iumentorum quae in castris subsederat* (β)—*subsederant*, the reading of α , is grammatically sound, he adds, 'Aber mit feinem Gefühl bemerkt Schneider, diejenigen, die *subsederant*

¹ *Neue philologische Rundschau*, 1899, pp. 241-6.

schreiben, "iumentis voluntariae actionis partem maiorem, quam decet, attribuunt et quod ad vim seu multitudinem eorum apte refertur, id ut minus apte de singulis dici videatur, efficiunt." "

Lastly, we have to do with a large number of variants which it was not consonant with Meusel's plan to examine in his long article, but which he has studied in his Critical Appendix, and with others which he will doubtless study in his second volume. I have dealt with a few of them in my larger books and in the *Classical Review*. In many cases the divergence is between words; in others between arrangements of the same words. Thus in v. 3, 5 we have to choose between *familiaritate* (α) and *auctoritate* (β); in v. 12, 2, between *permanserunt* (α) and *remanserunt* (β); in v. 12, 6 between *atque* (α) and *et* (β); in v. 13, 1 between *pertinet* (α) and *latus tenet* (β); in v. 42, 2 between *nobis* (α) and *nostris* (β). Again, in v. 52, 2, α has *legione producta* and β *producta legione*; in v. 54, 4 α has *inferendi belli* and β *belli inferendi*. When the choice lies, as it often does, between *ut* and *uti*, one must generally adhere to the principle of following α . In questions of order especially the decision is often extremely difficult. Sometimes there is as much to be said for one reading as for the other. In i. 44, 3 who can choose between *a se uno proelio* (α) and *uno a se proelio* (β)? The support which is forthcoming for the latter in i. 9, 1 (*relinquebatur una per Sequanos uia*), vi. 5, 6 (*duas ad eum legiones proficisci iubet*), vii. 73, 8 (*ternos inter se pedes distabant*), etc. is not decisive; and one can only follow α . So again in i. 50, 4 *sortibus uaticinationibusque* (β) is as good as *sortibus et uaticinationibus* (α), but no better; and α claims the casting vote. Sometimes one is obliged in the last resort to trust to one's feeling for style. I will cite two illustrations from modern literature. The late Poet Laureate once asserted that no sentence ought to begin with 'And.' Here is a case, taken from Macaulay's *History* (i., 1848, p. 613), in which not only a sentence, but a paragraph begins with that conjunction. After describing the capture of the Duke of Monmouth, Macaulay ends a paragraph with the sentence 'The prisoner was conveyed under a strong guard to Ringwood.' Then follows 'And all was lost; and nothing remained but that he should prepare to meet death as became one who had thought himself not unworthy to wear the crown of William the Conqueror and of Richard the Lion-Hearted, of the hero of Cressy and of the hero of Agincourt.' My other example shall be a stanza in which Matthew Arnold strengthened an impressive line by disregarding grammar:

'In his cool hall, with haggard eyes,
The Roman noble lay;
He drove abroad, in furious guise,
Along the Appian way;
He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crowned his hair with flowers—
No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours.'

A thousand years hence a critic may perhaps study the text of Arnold's *Dramatic and Lyric Poems*. If he is a pedant, 'nor' (no quicker) will offend him. He will say 'Is it credible that a poet of the Victorian Age was ignorant of an elementary rule of English grammar?' and, confidently offering 'and' as an emendation, he will ruin the line. Perhaps again an erroneous reprint of the *History of England* will omit 'And' at the beginning of that paragraph. If the critic has a feeling for style, he will prefer the text which retains the word.

Meusel has not only a fine sense of grammatical subtleties, but also a feeling for style. I will give one instance in which his and mine, such as it is, are at variance; or perhaps he did not think that the passage in question could be affected by such criticism. In iii. 14, 2, when Caesar is about to describe the sea-fight with the Veneti he writes (circiter CCXX naues eorum paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae) *profectae ex portu* (α) (nostris aduersae constiterunt); β has *e portu profectae*. Meusel in his previous editions followed α : now he adopts the reading of β , only changing e into *ex*, which, as he has shown,¹ is certainly right. The reason which he gives is that with *proficisci* the statement of the place to or from which one goes almost always precedes the verb. Almost, but not quite. Here, as always, the reader who is in earnest will check Meusel's Critical Appendix by his *Lexicon*. Turning to vol. i., pp. 106, 1171, and to vol. ii., pp. 96, 1240-1, he will perhaps conclude that the arithmetical method is not always satisfactory. He will note one or two exceptions, which are significant,—*Caesarem* [se] *arbitrari profectum in Italiam* (v. 29, 2) and *ipsi profecti a palude ad ripas Sequanae e regione Luteciae contra Labieni castra considunt* (vii. 58, 6). The nuance of meaning that justifies the exceptional order here seems to me to justify it also in iii. 14, 2: is not the deliberate and majestic movement of the Venetian fleet out of harbour better expressed by *profectae ex portu* than by *ex portu profectae*? But I do not expect every one to agree with me; this is one of several passages in which the personal equation must tell.²

I will cite a few other instances in which, although it is not easy to decide, the balance of probability seems to incline to one reading, and, finally, two in which there is no room for doubt. In every instance but one, I agree with Meusel's published texts; but he has not yet stated the reasons for his choice, except in vii. 38, 3, and vii. 90, 4: in both these cases I found, after I had written this paragraph, that my reasons were identical with his. In v. 12, 2

¹ *Jahresberichte*, 1894, pp. 248, 9.

² Another instance in which the arithmetical method has perhaps been strained occurs in iii. 12, 4. Here Meusel originally adopted the reading of α , — *oportunitatibus loci*. He now follows β , which reverses the order. The reason which he gives is that elsewhere in *B.G.* and *B.C.* taken together *oportunitas loci* occurs once, *loci oportunitas* four times. When the relevant passages are so few, might not one almost as

well toss up as decide on this principle? Again in iv. 31, 2, where Meusel follows β in reading *comparari* instead of *comportari*, he remarks that while *comportare* is used when the required materials are to be found in the neighbourhood, in this case they were to be fetched from the continent. I am not arguing against *comparari*; but in *B.C.*, iii. 42, 2 we find *frumentum ab Asia atque omnibus regionibus quas tenebat comportari imperat*.

remanserunt (β) seems to me more probable than *permanserunt* (α); for the writer is, I think, emphasizing the fact that the original Belgic invaders of Britain remained in the island, not the self-evident fact that their stay was permanent. In vii. 17, 6 I accept the reading of α —(*hoc se ignominiae laturos loco*)—which Meusel adopted in his critical edition, but which, in the reissue of his school edition (1908), he discarded in favour of *loco laturos*. When I read vi. 13, 1 (*nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco*) and *B.C.* i. 33, 2 (*Pompeius enim . . . dixerat eodem se habiturum loco qui Romae remansissent atque in castris Caesaris fuissent*), I conclude that the claims of α and β are here equally balanced, and accordingly follow α . In vii. 24, 5 my literary sense leads me to prefer the reading of β —(*tamen, quod instituto Caesaris duae semper* (*legiones pro castris excubabant*)—to that of α , *semper duae*. In vii. 38, 3 β has (*haec ab*) *his* (*cognoscite qui ex ipsa caede fugerunt*); α has *ipsis*. Is it not likely that *ipsis* was written by a scribe whose eye had wandered to the following *ipsa*? In vii. 40, 3 Schneider gave a good reason for preferring (*fratres Litaucici, cum comprehendi iussisset, paulo ante reperit ad hostes*) *profugisse* (β) to *fugisse* (α). ‘*Mutati enim loci,*’ he writes, ‘*et liberi a periculo spatii significatio, quam praepositio addit, h.l. aptissima et verbum in his commentariis frequentissimum est.*’ In vii. 32, 5 *Sa*—one MS. of α and one of β —have (*ciuitatem*) *omnem esse* (*in armis*), while the remaining seven MSS. have *esse omnem*. Every one, I think, will agree that the latter is right, and that the meaning is ‘the people were all up in arms.’ Lastly, in vii. 90, 4—(*T. Labienum*) *cum duabus* (*legionibus . . . in Sequanos proficisci iubet*)—the evidence against *duabus cum* (α) furnished by Meusel’s *Lexicon* (i. 759-65) is overwhelming. Here the arithmetical method is sound.¹

The nature of the evidence for the constitution of Caesar’s text is such that after the most diligent editor has done his utmost he is forced to acknowledge that in some passages there is no inherent reason for preferring one reading to another, and that in a considerable number, most of which, however, are comparatively unimportant, he can attain no more than probability, which is sometimes slight. But students who admit that each group, each family, each member of a family is entitled to consideration, will generally find themselves agreed on which side probability lies. And for this result we are indebted to Meusel above all. I would only suggest that while he never falls into

¹ I may say here that in the text of *B.G.* which I lately edited for the Medici Society I adopted in the following passages readings different from those of my other edition, which was published in February for the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. The corrections, although they were too late for the list of *Corrigenda* in the complete edition, were made in separate editions (also issued by the Clarendon Press) of i., iii., iv., and v.

iv. 3, 3. For *ii* read *hi*.

iv. 5, 2. For *enim* read *autem*.

iv. 10, 3. For *Nantuatium* read *Nemetum*.

iv. 32, 2. For *sese* read *se*.

v. 1, 2. For *subductionesque* read *subductionisque*.

I also bracketed *quam* in i. 42, 5, *Romanorum* in iii. 18, 8, and *atque opinione timidiores* in iii. 24, 5. In the second and fourth of these cases I assent to the arguments of Klotz, in the rest to those of Meusel.

Finally, in viii. 6, 3 I made an emendation,—*a T.* (*Labieno*) instead of *ab L.* Nipperdey deleted *ab L.*; but in mentioning Labienus for the first time Hirtius would certainly have given the *praenomen*, and *T* was often confounded with *L*.

the error of those who, as Madvig said, *rationem captivam sub iugum codicum mittunt*, he is sometimes prone to forget Boeckh's warning, *Im Allgemeinen kann man behaupten, dass von 100 Conjecturen, welche die Kritiker machen, nicht 5 wahr sind*.¹ German criticism occasionally condemns a word or a phrase in the archetype as unworthy of Caesar. Unless it is manifestly indefensible, I prefer to let it stand, even when this or that emendation seems probable, because I believe that Caesar had no time to spare for minute revision. Meusel,² arguing that the *Bellum Gallicum* was written in the winter of 52-51 B.C., remarks that a practised journalist can easily write 1,500 words a day. A journalist, yes; but no man, least of all one who had to transact administrative business and to watch the course of politics, could write that amount and also polish it with the anxious care of a Flaubert.

I suppose that in no department of human activity is the result, compared with the labour expended, so slender as in textual criticism. Even in the worst text one can see that the *Bellum Gallicum* was a great book. Nearly eighty years ago Macaulay, with a primitive edition of the *Bellum Civile* before him, said 'He is an admirable writer, worth ten of Sallust. His manner is the perfection of good sense and good taste.'³ But to purify the text of Caesar has been to Meusel a labour of love; for he remembers the words of encouragement which Mommsen addressed to him—'Das edle Werk ist es werth, sich darum zu mühen. Der ungeheure Abstand dieser Commentarien zu allem, was sich sonst römische Geschichte nennt, kann gar nicht tief genug empfunden werden.' As soon as his second volume is published, readers who use his *Lexicon* will have the means of making up their minds about every single passage in which variants occur. Of course, within certain limits opinions will continue to differ; but the text will not be susceptible of much further improvement; and it is to be hoped that restless emendators will thenceforth keep within bounds their longing to correct it. If interest is to wane when finality has been reached in any branch of classical research, the outlook is not hopeful. Though there is no temptation to tinker at the text of Swift, one reads, admires, and enjoys. May the destiny of Caesar be the same.

And now I bid a long farewell to the *Bellum Gallicum*, but not to the conqueror of Gaul.

¹ I owe these quotations to Mr. F. W. Hall's *Companion to Classical Texts*. May I take this opportunity of recommending an article called 'Les auteurs classiques et la critique des textes au XX^e siècle,' by M. L. Laurand, which ap-

peared in *Études* of August, 1913? It is unobtrusively learned, lucid, well written, and sane.

² *Jahresberichte*, 1913, p. 19.

³ Sir George Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1881, p. 690.

T. RICE HOLMES.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VERONESE PALIMPSEST IN THE FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE first excitement consequent upon the discovery of an ancient manuscript generally leads to an exaggeration of its importance. This was especially the case with the Veronese Palimpsest, first, because it is the only MS. of the first decade of Livy earlier than the ninth century, and secondly, because it is the only extant MS. for that part of Livy, which is not derived from the Nicomachian recension. Mommsen was naturally prejudiced in favour of the Veronese Palimpsest, which he collated and published, and, when the two families of MSS. differ from one another, he usually decides for the Palimpsest. He used only MPL for his comparison, which is consequently very inadequate. It is possible now, however, with our wider and more accurate knowledge of the Nicomachian MSS.,¹ thanks to the patient research of Professor Flamstead Walters and Dr. Conway, more justly to estimate the importance of the Veronese Palimpsest in Livy's first decade.

My knowledge of the Nicomachian MSS. is entirely due to the kindness of Dr. Conway and Professor Flamstead Walters, who have given me the unique opportunity and honour of seeing in private the collations which they have made in preparation for their edition of Livy in the *Bibliotheca Classica Oxoniensis*.

The Veronese Palimpsest consists of portions of Books III., IV., V., and VI. (1-6). For details of the manuscript itself *vide* Th. Mommsen's edition (T. Liuii ab urbe condita lib. III.-VI., quae supersunt in codice rescripto Veronensi descripsit et edidit Th. Mommsen).

II. CHARACTERISTIC ERRORS OF THE VERONESE PALIMPSEST.

Before considering some of the readings, in which V differs from the Nicomachian MSS., it is necessary to notice the chief errors to which the scribe of V was liable. It will be convenient to divide these into the following sections:

¹ See *Proc. of Camb. Phil. Soc.*, Nov. 1902, and *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1908, and Jan. 1910.

(a) *Perverted Order of Words.*

One of the commonest mistakes in V is a change in the order of words.¹ Examples of this error are to be found scattered throughout the MS.; no less than thirty certain instances occur in the portions of the books included in it. In some cases it may be due to an attempt on the part of the scribe, or some reader of his exemplar to improve the order; but generally it seems to have been caused by the scribe's habit of reading too fast and allowing his mind rather than his eye to guide his hand. Among examples of this, the following may be noticed:

III. 11. 11 *multa ibi* for *ibi multa*.

III. 42. 6 *ferre arma* for *arma ferre*.

IV. 25. 8 *fortunam Veis* for *Veis fortunam*.

V. 39. 9 *posse urbem* for *urbem posse*.

This practice of reading too fast is further illustrated in V:

III. 62. 6 *victoriae* for *gloriae* (probably introduced from the next line).

IV. 25. 14 *studiis* for *animis* (introduced from *studia* in the next line).

V. 23. 8 *pontifices r soluendum religione* is read in V, and the *r* inserted before *soluendum* can represent nothing but the beginning of *religione*; but the scribe noticed his omission of *soluendum* before he had written more, and so simply left the *r* and wrote the correct order of words.

The variation in the position of a word in different MSS. often points to its addition to the text from a marginal or interlinear explanatory note or gloss of some reader; but when perverted order is found to be a common failing in a certain MS., it can count for nothing. For instance, in III. 67. 6 (*discordia ordinum et uenenum urbis huius, patrum ac plebis certamina*) the *huius urbis* of V is no proof that *huius* should be deleted. It is true that V is supported in this case by U, but the latter is a MS. of very little consequence. It is only occasionally that V has helped to show glosses, and then it is due to other considerations more than the order of words.

After this brief survey of the common error of change of the order of words in V, it may be possible to understand some of the more important instances in which this MS. differs from the Nicomachian MSS.

III. 62. 3 *id consilii animique habiturus sum, quod uos mihi, milites, feceritis*.

This is Frigell's conjecture. The readings of the MSS. are:

. . . *hi feceritis* . . . s V; *milites geritis* M Vorm.; *mihi te geritis* RL; *tegeritis* H; *mihi . . . feceritis* P; *mihi effeceritis* P²FUD³; *michi . . . geritis* D.

It is clear that *geritis* is a variant which has displaced *feceritis* in some of the MSS. The true reading seems to have been *feceritis*; the *effeceritis* is due to confusion with the final syllable of *milites* after the first part of the word

¹ This was also a common mistake of the scribe of M, who was responsible for I. (1-9) and III. (71. 8) to IV. (21. 8). See *Proc. of Camb. Phil. Soc.*, November, 1902.

had been omitted after *mihi* in minuscules. Hence Frigell's conjecture seems to represent the original reading as far as it can be discovered from the corruptions in the MSS. V seems to show merely change of the order of *milites feceritis*, if the word partially wanting is *milites*. Mommsen, however, tries to prove that V has the true reading, though he then finds some difficulty with *milites* (v. *Codex Veronensis*, p. 189). It is much more probable that V simply shows his common practice of perverting the order of words.

IV. 17. 11 (The Fidenates and Veientes retired to the hills) *nec ante in campos degressi sunt, quam legiones auxilio Faliscorum uenerunt*.

This is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS.; but V has *Faliscorum auxiliorum*; *Faliscorum auxilio* has been conjectured by Kiehl. The object of the conjecture was presumably to make the genitive depend on *legiones*; but it does not seem to be altogether necessary. Moreover, V's *auxiliorum* points to *Faliscorum* as the second of the two words in his exemplar; he has accidentally interchanged the words, but retained the ending of the second. A genitive dependent on a predicative dative is not a very common construction (in this instance it is the so-called 'Subjective Genitive'); but it is not without parallels—cf. *Causae remotionis hoc nobis exemplo sit* (Cic. *Inv.* 2. 29); *ostentui scelerum* (Sall. *Jug.* 24); *indicio sui facti* (Lucr. 4. 1019); *eius rei testimonio sunt* (Cic. *Rosc. C.* 11); and perhaps also *ut monumento area esset oppressae nefariae spei*. (Livy IV. 16. 1).

VI. 1. 8 *is tribunos militum consulari potestate creat*.

For *consulari* V has *pro . . .* and HLA have *proconsulari*, which some editors retain on the ground that it occurs in both families of MSS. IV. 41. 10 (*M. Postumius reus obiectus, qui tribunus militum pro consule ad Veios fuerat*) is compared; but in that sentence *pro consule* means literally 'instead of a consul,' 'with the power of a consul.' No reader could take *proconsulari potestate* in any but the technical sense of 'proconsular power.' In the Palimpsest the corruption may be due to the initial letter of *potestate* having been written in the wrong place and not deleted in the exemplar. The scribes would also be more familiar with the phrase *proconsulari potestate* on account of its frequent occurrence in later history.

(b) Additions.

Another error to which the scribe of V was liable is the addition of words. Many of these are small words, probably originally in the margin or between the line of a MS., which have been incorporated into the text. Among these are the following:

III. 12. 7 *Quod offendat in eo . . . aetatem cottidie auferre* is the reading given by the Nicomachian MSS.; but V adds *magi*<*s*> before *auferre*. This is an obvious addition, and yet some editors on the authority of V alone accept it. For the omission of *magis*, even where the idea of comparison is present cf. III. 68. 11 (*malae rei se quam nullius duces esse uolent*).

III. 38. 5 *Legati ab Tusculo praesidium orantes nuntiant* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS.; but V adds *ea* after *legati*. This, too, is a manifest gloss. *Nuntiare* is frequently used absolutely in the sense of 'to carry the news' or 'to act the part of the messenger.' (Cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 34. 96 *Occiso Sex. Roscio, qui primus nuntiat*, and Ter. *Hec.* 4. 4. 20 *Bene, ita me di ament, nuntias*).

V. 7. 4 *nec cum rep<ente>* occurs in V for *cum repente*.

In this example *nec* seems to have been added from the margin in the wrong place. It was probably meant to alter the corrupt *seditionis* a few lines above into *seditio nec* (*nec in urbe seditio nec in castris posset*); but the scribe of V copied *seditionis* and added *nec* in the wrong place.

V. 40. 7 *quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae, quia vires ad omnia ferenda de-erant, relinquenda essent, consultantes* is read in the Nicomachian MSS., but V adds *et quae* before *relinquenda*—an obvious addition.

VI. 1. 10 *in primis foedera ac leges . . . conquiri, quae compararent, iusserunt* is the reading of Nicomachian MSS. For *quae compararent* V has *quae non compararent*. V has, no doubt, preserved the right verb which the other MSS. have corrupted into the commoner *compararent*; but the addition of *non* to *compararent* is impossible; they could not collect the laws, etc., which were not extant. Mentioned in connexion with the Twelve Tables, it must also refer to written laws and not to customs preserved by oral tradition. It is very probable that with the corruption of *compararent* a variant reading *quae non compararent* arose. V's *non* may have come from this. For this meaning of *comparere* cf. Livy XXVI. 30. 10; XXXII. 10. 3; XXXIV. 35. 6; and XXXVIII. 11. 5.

Like most MSS. V has examples of dittographs. Simple dittography usually presents no difficulty, and it is needless to give examples; but sometimes the scribe of V or of his exemplar attempts to emend an error arising from a dittograph, as:

III. 31. 1 *refectis his sequente* for *refecti, hi sequente*.

IV. 27. 2 *urbe est* for *urbe*.

IV. 55. 2 *enixe tribuni sibi* is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS.; but V adds *enim* after *sibi*, which is probably an emendation of *eni*, a part of *enixe*, to which the scribe had reverted.

Besides the dittography of letters and syllables, V sometimes repeats a whole word or phrase; but this is not so common a fault in the Palimpsest as in some other uncial MSS. of the fifth century, as, for instance, Puteanus in the third decade of Livy.

(c) Omissions.

Far commoner and more important than the error of addition is that of omission in V. It occurs also in Puteanus with about the same frequency. It was much easier for a scribe to omit letters or words in copying from a MS. in uncial script, written continuously, than from a minuscule MS. in later times,

when the words, or at least some of the words, were separated from each other. Of this kind is the common error of haplography. To this class also belongs the error of what might be called 'crushed words,' i.e. words of which the scribe wrote the beginning and end, leaving out the middle portion. If we were unable to supplement V by minuscule MSS. of the tenth century, derived from a better tradition, we should probably often experience great difficulty in discovering the true reading from these 'crushed words,' as the following examples show:

III. 8. 5 *prodit* for *procedit*; III. 12. 4 *neminum esse cum eius* for *neminem unum esse cuius*; III. 57. 7 *regiones* for *religiones*; VI. 4. 7 *q.* for *quintum*. (The same corruption occurs often in Puteanus—foll. 412a", 416a', 411a', 422b', 423b', etc.)

In addition to these omissions, V very often omits words, phrases, or whole sentences on account of homoeoteleuton. Undoubted examples of this are the following:

III. 62. 5 *in aciem . . . postero die* is omitted after *posteroque die*.

IV. 12. 5 *neque belli* for *neque bello neque belli*.

V. 7. 1 *et superiorem . . . Veios* omitted after *Veios*.

V. 27. 7 *eam aetatem . . . aduersus* omitted after *aduersus*.

Many more examples of omissions in V, due to homoeoteleuton, might be given; but these are sufficient to show that it was an error to which the scribe of the Palimpsest, or of his exemplar, was liable. In spite of this there are clear instances of this mistake, by which important sentences are omitted, which editors accept as the original text on the authority of V, condemning the Nicomachian readings as 'glosses.' The most important of these are the following:

III. 67. 10 *Ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit?* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS.; but V omits *unam urbem habere ecquando*. Mommsen says of V's reading 'fortasse recte'; but the repetition not only adds emphasis, but is thoroughly consistent with the whole character of this exhortation of the consul Quinctius, in which repetition of the same sentiment in different words is very common (cf. § 6 *Discordia ordinum et uenenum urbis huius, patrum ac plebis certamina*). No one could omit *ecquando unam urbem habere* except on the unwarrantable ground that everything which is not indispensable is an addition.

V. 3. 7 *Nisi forte hoc dicitis, quidquid patres faciunt, displicet* is the reading given by the Nicomachian MSS.; but V. omits *nisi forte hoc dicitis* after *agitis*, owing to homoeoteleuton, as it seems. Many editors have accepted V's omission here. But, when it is considered in the light of the whole chapter, *nisi forte hoc dicitis* appears an important link; it makes the transition from the suggestion of the Tribunes' opposition to the interests of the Plebeians themselves to that of their unreasoned opposition to the Patricians smoother. It further emphasizes the fact that the Tribunes' policy was preconcerted.

V. 4. 8 *nos tamquam cum ciuibus agere uolumus agique tamquam cum patria*

nobiscum aecum censemus is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS. V has *Nos tamquam cum patria agi nobiscum*, etc. The omission in the latter is due to homoeoteleuton, while *agi* has been added in an attempt to emend. The sentence is too ingenious to be regarded as an addition in the Nicomachian MSS. in general. Besides the palaeographical reasons against the omission, it really spoils the sentence; *nos* becomes unduly emphatic, while *ciuibus* gives a much better contrast to *mercenario milite* in the preceding sentence than *patria* alone can give. Further, the idea of a mutual compact, expressed by the Nicomachian reading, is suited to the persuasive tone of the whole address.

V. 8. 3 *Minus militum periit, quia praeter aegros lixarum in modum omnes per agros uicinasque urbes negotiabantur* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS. V omits *per agros . . . urbes*; but this phrase seems to be important and necessary with *negotiabantur* in this sentence.

Besides omissions due to homoeoteleuton, the scribe of V often left out words, of which it appears he did not see the exact force. This is especially the case with small words, like *-que*, *in*, *et*, etc. A few examples of these omissions may be noticed:

III. 24. 5 *Adfirmantibus . . . secum eum tum frequentemque ad signa sine ullo commeatu fuisse* is the reading of all the Nicomachians. For *frequentemque* V has *frequente*, which Mommsen has emended to *frequentem*. The latter reading is accepted by most editors. The *-que*, however, seems not only defensible but necessary—‘(they said) that he had been with them at that time and (in addition) that he had attended constantly at his post, etc.’ Cf. II. 2. 2 *ac nescio an nimium undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo modum excesserint*, where *-que* (omitted PFU) is retained by most editors. In III. 44. 6 *manum iniecit serva sua natam seruamque appellans sequique se iubebat*, V gives *sequi iubebat* for *sequique se iubebat*; but it makes the sentence intolerably harsh and abrupt. Again, at III. 43. 6 *Siccium . . . in medio iacentem armatumque . . . uidere*, V’s omission of *-que* has been adopted by very many editors in their text. The *-que* seems more probably an omission in V than an addition in the other MSS.; it means that *in medio iacentem* and *armatum* are to be taken as two separate facts ‘(they saw) him lying in the middle and (they then noticed that he was) not despoiled of his arms.’

III. 8. 7 *urbi quoque Romae ingens praebitus terror . . . in re subita* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS. V has *res subita* for *in re subita*, and from it Nannius has conjectured *re subita*, which has been accepted by very many editors, and among them Madvig. Nevertheless, *in* seems to have been original and an omission in V. For the sense of *in* cf. *Consul percussis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida, inpavidus turbatos instruit* (Livy XXII. 5): *Ceteri reges aut bello uicti in amicitiam a uobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem uestram adpetiuerunt* (Sallust, Jug. 14. 5); and *Magno in aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent* (Cic., Cat. 2. 8).

IV. 7. 12 *et foris . . . et domi otium fuit* is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS.; V omits the first *et*. The omission of adverbial *et* is fairly common in

the Palimpsest. Cf. *Et ab seditionibus urbanis otium fuit* (IV. 35. 2); *beatam urbem Romam et inuictam et aeternam illa concordia dicere* (V. 7. 10); *etiam praesidiumque et (=even) spem ultimam Romani nominis* (V. 45. 4). In each of these sentences V omits *et*.

IV. 17. 3 *Leuant quidam regis facinus* is the reading of the Nicomachians; but V has omitted *quidam*. Mommsen defends this omission on the ground that no diversity of opinion is recorded; but *quidam* seems appropriate here; for it was only those who had been present and heard the words of the king on that occasion, and not the Fidenates in general, as *leuant* alone would imply, who gave this evidence.

V. 8. 11 *qui, ne quam opem ab inimico uideretur petisse, uinci ab hoste quam uincere per ciuem maluit* is the reading of the Nicomachians; V omits *quam* before *opem*, and this omission is accepted by Mommsen. *Quam*, however, seems necessary here in the sense of *any (help)*, and it might very easily have been omitted in uncial script before *opem*.

In this brief consideration of the characteristic errors of the Veronese Palimpsest, we see that many readings, in which that MS. differs from the Nicomachian MSS., are to be explained by common faults of the scribe of V or of his exemplar.

III. VARIANT READINGS AND GLOSSES.

In a comparison of the readings of V with those of the Nicomachian MSS. we find many variant readings, which are both possible, as far as the grammatical construction and the general sense of the passage are concerned. In these cases it is possible for the editor to distinguish subtle shades of meaning and the characteristics of Livy's Latinity, and so to make his choice between the two. It is very likely that some of these variants go back to a very early date, perhaps even to the time of Livy himself. It may be convenient to divide them into three classes:

(a) *Passages in which V is not supported by any of the Nicomachian MSS.*

III. 6. 6 *discessere socii pro tristi nuntio tristiores domum referentes* is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS.; but V has *reportantes* for *referentes*. It is difficult to decide which of these variants is the better. *Referre* is the usual prose word for *report* in the case of ambassadors, and is, on the whole, more probably the original verb. It seems unnecessary to suppose that Livy used *reportantes* here in imitation of Vergil's *Isque adytis haec tristia uerba reportat* (Aen. II. 115), and that *referentes* is a prose gloss. On the other hand, it is possible that *reportantes* arose from a marginal note of some reader who remembered the Vergilian passage.

III. 44. 5 *M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut uirginem in seruitutem adsereret neque cederet secundum libertatem postulantibus uindicias* is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS. V has *petentibus* for *postulantibus*. No one would hesitate to acknowledge that the Palimpsest has chosen the worse variant here.

III. 66. 2 *iam non ultra discordia ciuium reprimi poterat* is read by the Nicomachian MSS.; but V has *nec ultra* for *non ultra*. This expression does not appear to occur elsewhere; but it cannot be said certainly to be wrong (cf. *nec procul* (I. 25. 10), where, however, Dr. Postgate has proposed to read *nec <ipse> procul*¹); for the old negative *nec* is commonly used with some adverbs and adjectives, as *necdum*, *necopinatus*, etc.

IV. 12. 10 *profiteri cogendo frumentum, et uendere, quod usui menstruo superesset*, etc., is read by all the Nicomachian MSS. except U, which omits *et*. V has *ut uenderet* for *et uendere*, and Mommsen has emended it to *ut uenderent*. There can be no doubt that the Nicomachians have preserved the true reading here. The variant in the Veronese, which seems to be an attempted emendation consequent upon the corruption of *et* to *ut*, cannot be right, and Mommsen's conjecture seems, therefore, unnecessary.

IV. 55. 4 *Alios recurrentis in arcem . . . caesos*.

For *in arcem* V has *ad arcem*. It is not very easy to decide between these variant readings; but it has been seen that V has a tendency to confuse small words. *In arcem* is also more picturesque and more likely to have been changed than *ad arcem*.

V. 45. 3 *Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati incursione ab oppidanis in palatos facta circumueniuntur*.

This is the version of the Nicomachian MSS. V. gives *excursione* instead of *incursione* and omits *in palatos*. The omission is probably the result of the change of *incursione* to *excursione*, which was probably made by somebody who thought a separate 'sally' was indicated, and not a continuation of the rout described in this chapter.

VI. 2. 3 *nouns quoque terror accesserat defectione Latinorum* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS. V has *adedefectionis* for *defectione*. This seems to record two variant readings, *defectionis* or *defectione*; the first two letters *ad* probably came, as Professor Walters suggests, from *ate*, i.e. *alii-e*, which has been added from the margin. The reading *defectionis* has found favour not only with H. J. Müller, but also with Madvig. If it is retained, it must be regarded as an objective genitive with *terror*; but its position in the sentence makes it very awkward.

VI. 3. 8 *quod accensum ab desperatione hostium fuisset, ni praecones per urbem dimissi poni arma et parci inermi iussissent* is the reading of all the extant Nicomachian MSS. The Veronese has *inermib.*; but the singular gives the better sense here—'the unarmed man' 'every person, who did not carry arms.' Cf. the following sentence *nec praeter armatos quemquam uiolari*. The singular is also more likely to have been changed to the plural, while there is no reason for *b.* or *bus* having fallen out of the text. Cf. the Livian use of the singular in similar phrases: *inermi cedetis hosti* (IV. 33. 4), and *parcique iussum inermi* (VI. 10. 5).

¹ See *Classical Quarterly*, 1910, p. 269.

VI. 4. 5 *fremitus fuit aspernantium imperium*. For *aspernantium* V gives *contemnentium*, which must be a gloss on the rarer word. There can be little doubt that *aspernantium* is the more suitable word to express 'chafing at,' while *contemnentium* would merely mean 'despising.'

In some instances the scribe of the Veronese Palimpsest has incorporated manifest glosses into the text. In most passages these have displaced the true reading; for the Palimpsest, unlike some other MSS. for this part of Livy, especially M, rarely records two readings. In some cases, as will be seen, the error is further obscured by an attempt to emend. The following are examples of the incorporation of glosses in V:

III. 8. 7 *Q. Fabius praeerat urbi; is . . . tuta omnia ac tranquilla fecit*. This is the reading of MOHRDL; PF have *urbis* for *urbi is*. V has *praefectus erat urbis* for *praeerat urbi is*—an obvious gloss.

III. 64. 2 *Censum patrum causabantur, quo per contumeliam consulum iura plebis labefactata essent*. In this passage V adds *tr.* (i.e. *tribunorum*), after *iura*—an addition which is found in none of the Nicomachian MSS. No gloss could be more manifest; for the tribunes pretended to be the champions of the people, and, though they probably meant their own *iura*, they would be more likely to say that the 'iura plebis' than the 'iura tribunorum plebis' had been attacked. *Tribunorum* might easily have been added by a reader, who saw what was meant, and at the same time thought *consulum* needed some word to balance it.

III. 65. 4 *tulit, ut . . . is usque adeo rogaret dum decem tribunos plebi faceret* is the reading of MOHD¹ or D³A; for *usque eo* RDL have *usoeo*, PFU *usque*, and V has *adeo*. Mommsen accepts the last as an archaism (cf. *Merces uectatum undique a deo, dum, quae tum haberet, peperisset bona* (Plaut. *Merc.* I. I. 76); but it does not occur elsewhere in Livy, and does not seem to have been used in this sense later than Plautus. Perhaps *usque adeo* is the true reading, or, as is more probable, *adeo* is a gloss on *eo*, which V has substituted for the whole phrase *usque eo*.

V. 44. 7 *Si uobis in animo est tueri moenia uestra nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri . . . capite arma*. For *Galliam*, the reading of the Nicomachian MSS. V has *a Gallis*; this has led to various conjectures, as *Gallorum* by Cobet, *a Gallis conferri* by Zingerle, and *a Gallis ferri* by Frigell. The reading of the Nicomachians exactly suits the sense—'not to allow all these places to become Gaul.' V shows a weak corruption of this by somebody who did not understand *Galliam*; for, if *a Gallis* had been the original reading, it is very improbable that it would have been altered to *Galliam*. The evil influence of the reading of the Palimpsest is seen in the many conjectures which have been based upon it.

V. 46. 4 *Veis interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam uires crescebant* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS.; but V has *numerus etiam uiresque* for *etiam uires*, in which *numerus* is a manifest gloss on *uires*, betrayed by its position between *sed* and *etiam*, and *que* is an addition to emend the sentence.

V. 51. 3 *Cum . . . capta tota urbe Capitolium tamen atque arcem diique et homines Romani tenuerint habitauerint, uictoribus Romanis, recuperata urbe arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur, et plus uastitatis huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet quam aduersa fecit?* is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS.; but V adds *et* after *tenuerint*. It is clear, as Dr. Conway points out, from the Nicomachian version that *habitauerint* is a gloss on *tenuerint*—a fact which V has disguised by the addition of *et*. It is unnecessary to suppose, as some editors suggest, that two verbs are required to balance *deseretur* and *plus uastitatis . . . faciet*. *Habitauerint* is a mere repetition, while *deseretur* and *plus uastitatis* give two distinct ideas—the desertion and subsequent waste of the city.

V. 51. 3 *Quid obsessam (sc. urbem) ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si recuperatam ipsi deserimus?*

For *ipsi* V has *obsidione*, which is clearly an adscript to explain *recuperatam*, which has displaced *ipsi*—a word important for the emphasis of the sentence.

VI. 2. 11 *ita consternauit hostes, ut minor moles superantibus uallum in castra Volscorum Romanis fuerit.*

After *uallum* V adds *militibus munitum*, which, besides a very un-Livian antithesis is grammatically impossible; for *munire* is used with *fossa*, *uallo*, *moenibus*, *Alpibus*, *muro*, and the like, but not with *militibus*.

(b) *Passages in which the Veronese Palimpsest is in agreement with some of the Nicomachian MSS.*

III. 44. 4 *hanc uirginem . . . Appius amore amens pretio ac spe perlicere adortus.* This is the reading of VPFUO. For *amens*, MVorm. have *ardens amens*, HRL *ardens*, M³ *ardens et eius mentem*. It is obvious that *ardens* is a gloss on *amens*, and V agrees with some of the Nicomachian MSS. in not recording it.

IV. 24. 6 *ut re ipsa, inquit, sciatis, Quirites, quam mihi diuturna non placeant imperia, dictatura me abdico.*

For *placeant* M has *placeant re*, and V has *placere* with the omission of *quam*. Here we have a very clear instance of variant readings both of which are preserved in M. Mommsen considers that V has preserved the original reading. But it is difficult to say which is more likely to be the original, though there can be no doubt that the Nicomachian version is more forcible and expressive of the feelings of the dictator on this occasion.

V. 44. 3 *Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis . . . gratiae referendae.*

For *pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis*, which is the reading of V and H, the rest of the Nicomachian MSS. shows a variety of confusions produced by the introduction of glosses into the text: *pro tantis pro latinis pīr* RDL; *pro tantis pristinis pīr* PFED⁴; *pro tantis pristinis p.r.* U; *pro tantis beneficiis p.r. pristinis* O; *pro tantis prolatis pīr* M¹A; *pro tantis prolatis pīr* D³. The origin of these confusions seems to have been the incorporation of *pristinis*, an adscript to *beneficiis*, into the text, and then in some MSS. *latinis* has displaced it by

confusion perhaps with *Priscis Latinis*, or, it may be, by a miswriting of *tantis*.

VI. 3. 3 Sutrium is besieged by the Etruscans (*paucitas oppidanorum*) . . . *inermis cum singulis emissa uestimentis miserabili agmine penates relinqueret, eo forte tempore Camillus . . . interuenit*. In this passage V, in agreement with HT, has *inermis* and *emissa*; HT also have *relinqueret*, which is wanting in V. The other MSS. have confused the singular and plural in this passage, and therefore do not affect the question as to whether we are to read the singular or the plural. The narrative indicates that all the citizens *as a body* left their homes. Hence the singular referring to *paucitas oppidanorum* is better than the plural.

VI. 6. 7 *sibique destinatum in animo* is the reading of all the Nicomachian MSS., except L, which omits *in*. V has *id* for *in*, and it is accepted by Mommsen, who refers to IX. 16. 19 (*Eum parem destinant animis magno Alexandro ducem*) and others, who think it supports L in the omission of *in*. On the other hand, at XXI. 44. 9 we find in Puteanus *bene fixum omnibus destinatum in animo est*, which is accepted by Heerwagen; but Luchs reads here *destinatumque animo*, etc., with a later MS., as Professor Walters points out to me. In any case, in the passage under consideration *id* is very inelegant and unnecessary, and probably one of the many confusions of small words, which are found in V, and really represents an original *in*. This would put V on the side of the Nicomachians, which read *in animo*.

(c) *Passages in which all the Extant MSS. record Manifest Glosses.*

IV. 17. 1 *Colonia Romana ad Lartem Tolumnium Veientium regem ac Veientes defecere* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS., while V omits *ac Veientes*. It is quite clear, as the late H. J. Müller observed, that all the MSS. have incorporated a gloss on *Lartem Tolumnium*, viz., *regem Veientium*. V has made the further mistake of allowing it to displace *ac Veientes*.

V. 4. 6 *patiatur se ab domo ab re familiari . . . abesse* is the reading of all the Nicomachian MSS. except U. The latter in agreement with V gives *ac re familiari* for *ab re familiari*. Many editors accept the latter version; but it is very probable that *ab domo* is merely a gloss on *ab re familiari*, as Dr. Conway has suggested, which has been put into the text, and that in VU an attempt has been made to emend by changing *ab* to *ac*. Such an emendation would be very likely in U, and, as we have seen, not at all impossible in V; its only result is to conceal the error and so to render V and U less valuable than the other MSS. in this passage.

V. 5. 5 *uallum fossamque, ingentis utrumque rem operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt* is the version of the Nicomachian MSS. V has *utramque rem*, which some critics accept. It is probable that the true reading is *utrumque*, as Drakenborch suggested, and that *utramque rem* is a gloss on it. Hence the Nicomachian MSS., which record a combination of both, are more useful than V.

V. 32. 3 *fusa concursu primo acies, in fugam milia octo armatorum ab equitibus interclusa positis armis in deditionem uenerunt* is the reading given by the

Nicomachians. V adds *uersa* after *fugam*—a reading accepted by most editors. It is probable either that *in fugam* is a gloss on *fusa*, and should be excluded, or, as Professor Walters has suggested, we should read *in fuga*. In either case, V has expanded the corruption into *in fugam uersa* in order to fit it into the sentence better. Hence V again seems to be less useful than the Nicomachian MSS. in revealing a gloss, or guilty of an addition.

V. 33. 3 *inuexisse in Galliam uinum inliciendae gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone, cui tutor is fuerat ipse* is the reading of all the Nicomachian MSS. except M, which has *es*, a mere slip for *is*. In V *is* is omitted, and *ipse* precedes *fuerat*—a version which has been accepted by many editors. It is very probable, as Dr. Conway has suggested, that the original reading was *is*, and that *ipse* is a marginal addition; the Nicomachians then record both readings, while the Palimpsest has chosen the wrong one, as so often. *Ipse* makes the sentence too emphatic, whereas *is* makes it merely a parenthetical clause, as, in fact, *is* is required by the sense.

IV. PASSAGES IN WHICH THE VERONESE PALIMPSEST ALONE HAS PRESERVED THE TRUE READING.

If the following passages, in which the Palimpsest alone seems to have preserved the true reading, be compared with the list at the end of Mommsen's edition of the *Codex Veronensis*, it will be seen that they are considerably fewer in number. In some instances this is due to the fact that the readings of V have been found to be supported by some of the Nicomachian MSS.; but in most cases it is because further research in, and a better understanding of, the Nicomachian MSS. has put V into a less important position. In many of the passages in which V is the only MS. authority, it merely confirms conjectures. However satisfying such readings may be, they are not revolutionary, nor of primary importance.

In some instances V preserves the true reading by omitting glosses and additions which occur in the Nicomachian MSS. The examples of this are the following :

III. 29. 6 *eo die L. Manilio Tusculano adprobantibus cunctis ciuitas data* is the reading of V, but the Nicomachian MSS. add *est* after *data*. Again in III. 31. 1 *annona propter <aquarum intemperi>em laboratum* is the version in V, to which the other MSS. add *est* after *laboratum*. There can be little doubt that the Palimpsest has preserved the true reading in the omission of *est* in these short sentences. Many instances occur in Livy, in which *est* is rightly omitted by all the MSS. as, for example, VI. 22. 8 *quattuor legionibus quaternum milium scriptis, exercitu indicto ad portam Esquilinam in posteram diem, ad Satricum profectus*; but far more numerous are the passages in which *est*, etc., have been wrongly added, though without the authority of MSS. they cannot be omitted. Sometimes the addition is betrayed by its position varying in different MSS., as in the following examples :

IV. 6. 8 *deducta est res* PF¹UODLA; *deducta res est* M; *res* is omitted by H, probably having been displaced by the addition of *est*.

IV. 31. 9 *Romae terror ingens erat*. H has *erat* before *ingens*; *erat* should probably be omitted (cf. III. 22. 2 for the omission of *erat*).

VI. 31. 7 *causa erat* MHTLDA; *erat causa* PFUO.

X. 18. 3 *est Romam perlatus* M² (or M¹); *Romam perlatus est* P²FUO; *est* omitted by PDLA.

In all these examples parts of the verb 'to be' seem to have been added wrongly.

III. 56. 12 *tribuni eodem foedere obligatos se fateantur tollendae appellationis* is the reading of V; the Nicomachian MSS. add *causa* after *appellationis*. This is perhaps V's most brilliant reading. This idiomatic use of the genitive for purpose was often misunderstood by scribes, who changed it to the dative case or added *causa*.

IV. 11. 7 *uexationes ad po<pulum iam>die dicta ab tri<bunis re>manendo in c<colonia>, quam testem i<ntegritatis iustit>iaeque hab<ebant, ui>tauere* is the reading of V. The Nicomachians add *coloni adscripti* (with some palaeographical variation as M *coloni adscribiti*, and D *colonis adscripti*) before *remanendo*; this is an obvious gloss.

IV. 14. 6 *Ahala Seruilius obtruncat respersusque cruore* is the reading of V; the other MSS. add *obtruncati* after *cruore*—an obvious gloss.

IV. 21. 7 *Fidenates, qui se primo aut montibus aut muris ten<uerant>* is the version of V. The Nicomachian MSS. add *aut oppido* after *primo*. Madvig had observed that this was a gloss on *aut muris*. Hence V supports conjecture.

IV. 24. 7 *deposito suo magistratu, imposito fine alteri . . . domum reductus* is the reading of V; but the Nicomachians add *modo aliorum magistratui* after *magistratu* which is manifestly a gloss on *fine alteri*. In this passage V again confirms Madvig's conjecture. Gronov suggested that *modo aliorum* alone should be omitted.

V. 31. 5 *ob quae Volsinienses Sapienatibus* (sc. *Sappinatibus*) *adiunctis superbia inflati ultro agros incursauere* is the reading of V.

The Nicomachian MSS. add *Romanos* after *agros*. The latter, being plural, seems to mean 'open fields,' 'open country'; *Romanos* is then a gloss added probably from 'in agro Romano,' which occurs a few lines above. Though not an impossible addition, it appears quite unnecessary to accept it as the original reading.

V. 53. 3 *etiamsi tum migrandum fuisset incolumi urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas non censerem* is the version of V; the Nicomachian MSS. add *tota* after *incolumi*, which seems to spoil the complete antithesis between 'incolumni urbe' and 'has ruinas.' Further, if *tota* was in the original text, it must have been an emphatic word, and one would expect this to be made clear by its position in the sentence. Moreover, *tota* might very well be an addition by a scribe or reader, who remembered that the Capitol was still safe.

In a few passages V supplies omissions in the Nicomachian MSS.:

IV. 7. 12 *Licinius Macer auctor est in foedere Ardeatino et in linteis libris ad Monetæ ea inuenta. Ad Monetæ ea* is Mommsen's conjecture from V, which has *ad monetæa*. The Nicomachian MSS. have no trace of *ea* (*ad monetæa* POHLDA; *ad monetæ* MF; *ammonet* U).

IV. 25. 4 *famem quoque ex pestilentia morbo implicitis cultoribus agrorum timentes* is the reading of V. In the Nicomachian MSS. *quoque . . . implicitis* is omitted, which leaves an impossible sentence. The omission is probably due to *quoltoribus* being written for *cultoribus* in the archetype. Several examples of *qu* for *c* occur in the Nicomachian MSS., as in IV. 3. 2 M has *quo horti* for *coorti*, in IV. 15. 7 MO have *conquoquere* and H has *conquere* for *concoquere*. Cf. *pæqunia*, etc. on Latin inscriptions.

V. 43. 4 *frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat* is the reading of V; the Nicomachian MSS. omit *eos*; but it is necessary to the sense. In this passage V supports the conjecture of Gronov.

In other passages where V is the only authority for the true reading, the error of the Nicomachian MSS. is such as might easily have occurred in the minuscule, but not in the uncial script. Among these are the following:

III. 13. 10 *deuio quodam tugurio* is the reading of V. For *deuio* M Vorm. have *deuo*, and the rest of the Nicomachian MSS. have *de ullo* (i.e. probably *deulo* emended to *de ullo*). In this passage V supports the conjecture of Campanus and Rhenanus.

III. 21. 12 *fiunt ut* in V; but *ut* is omitted by the Nicomachians.

III. 23. 6 *exercitu reducto castra locat* is the reading of V. The Nicomachian MSS. have *relicto* for *reducto*. In this passage V confirms the conjecture of Rubenius and Crévier.

III. 61. 12 For *lenibus*, the reading of V, the Nicomachians have *lenibus*.

In addition to the above instances V has preserved the true reading wholly or partly in the following passages:

III. 29. 5 *carmine triumphali et solemnibus iocis* is the version of V. For *et* the other MSS. have *ex*, probably on account of the following ablative.

III. 34. 6 *decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc . . . fons omnis publici priuatique est iuris* is the version of the Palimpsest. The other MSS. have *quæ* for *qui*; but it is very harsh, if *est* is retained, and there is no reason to reject *est*, which is found in all the MSS. *Qui* might easily have been changed to *quæ* on account of the proximity of *leges* and its long distance from *fons*. In this passage V supports the conjecture of Rhenanus.

III. 67. 6 *discordia ordinum et uenenum urbis huius, patrum ac plebis certamina*, etc., is the reading of V. The Nicomachian MSS. have *est* for *et*.

V. 7. 13 *tum primum equis suis merere equites coeperunt* is the reading of V. For *equis suis merere* the Nicomachians show much confusion, as *equis merere* O; *equos si merere* H; *aequos merere* P; *equos merere* P²FU; *aequis merere* L. Even before the collation of V *equis suis merere* had been conjectured from *equis suis mereri* in the periocha.

V. 24. 8 *Ceterum* (*ceteram* H) *partem plebi* (*plebis* H and U) *partem* (*partim* H) *senatus destinabant habitandos Veios*.

This is the reading of the Nicomachian MSS. except that P has *a habitandos*, and U has *parte . . . parte*. V has *partem plebs*, *partim senatus*, and *habitando distina*. . . . It is uncertain whether V had *Veios*; but there seems to be sufficient space for it. In any case it is probable that *Veios* is a gloss and the correct reading is *habitando* in V's order.¹ The order in the other MSS. is probably due to the addition of the gloss. There can be little doubt that V's *partim* . . . *partim*, which also has some support from H, is right. For the rest, it seems best to read *plebi* and *senatui* with Rhenanus and Madvig, and *destinabatur*—an impersonal, which is also needed by the following words (*duasque urbes communis rei publicae incolae a populo Romano posse*). The *destinabant* of the Nicomachians is perhaps due to the error in *partem*. For the confusion of active and passive cf. VI. 4. 8 *ne quid ad nova consilia relinquere tur uirum* in which passage V has *relinqueretur*, but the Nicomachian MSS. have *relinquerent*.

V. 53. 1 Camillus tries to persuade the Roman populace not to leave Rome and migrate to Veii—*at enim apparet quidem <pollui om>nia nec ullis piaculis expiari posse, sed res ipsa cogit uastam incendiis ruinisque relinquere urbem et ad integra omnia Veios migrare*.

This is the version of V except the two words, which are not clear, and which in the above are due to the conjecture of Madvig. All the Nicomachian MSS. omit *at enim* . . . *posse*. There can be no doubt that V is correct here. There is, perhaps, no passage in which the Palimpsest has proved more useful; for without it an irremediable lacuna must have remained in the text.

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¹ See *Classical Quarterly*, January, 1911.

ON THE VALUE OF MODERN GREEK FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT GREEK.¹

THE study of Hellenistic Greek, or of the *κοινή*, which has flourished increasingly since the beginning of the present century, has brought Modern Greek more and more within the view of classical philologists. As I have insisted on utilizing Modern Greek for Hellenistic philology for about twenty years, I may claim some credit if a knowledge of Modern Greek is now admitted to be indispensable to Hellenistic studies; but philologists only reluctantly acknowledge this new demand, and hesitate to acquire as full an acquaintance with Modern Greek as the study of the *κοινή* demands.

Thus, for instance, the linguist Paul Kretschmer² emphasizes the value of Modern Greek to students as an important source of linguistic information, but Professor Gercke, one of the editors of the work in which Kretschmer's article appears, states in the same volume that although Modern Greek has been useful in elucidating many problems of vulgar or Hellenistic Greek, it remains outside the interests of most classical students. Hence young students will unfortunately be inclined to conclude that they need not burden themselves with this new study, even if good opportunities should come in their way.

I think I may claim to have proved by my own scientific work how much a good knowledge of Modern Greek contributes towards a right perception of the character of Hellenistic Greek, and I therefore venture to discuss the methodical value of Modern Greek philology to-day, and to illustrate its fruits by some concrete examples. The theme of my lecture will give me occasion not only to review the latest results of investigation, but also to trace the lines of future inquiry. I shall restrict myself to the linguistic side of the subject, whereas Dr. Menardos,³ the Reader of Modern Greek in the University of Oxford, and the Dutch Neogrecist, Hesseling,⁴ have extended their investigations to folklore and literature, treating the language itself but lightly.

But before entering upon the discussion of my special subject, I should wish to say a few words as to the interest which the study of three thousand years of continuous linguistic development has for those who concern themselves with the science of language in general. Only the Indian and Chinese

¹ A lecture delivered before the Victoria University of Manchester, October 13, 1913.

² Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung in die klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, I² (1912), p. 474.

³ *On the Value of Byzantine and Modern Greek in*

Hellenic Study, Oxford, 1909.

⁴ *Det Betekenis van het Nieuw Grieks voor de Geschiedenis der Griekse Taal en der Griekse Letterkunde*, Leiden, 1907.

languages have a documentary history extending over so long a period. "The great gain from the study of contemporary Greek is the perception of the whole as a continuous and living language," says Menardos concisely.¹ As in the development of human speech, transformation or change alone is constant—*πάντα ῥεῖ*, says Heraclitus of Ephesus—it is of the highest importance for the knowledge of the laws of linguistic development that we should be able to observe the transformation of a language for as long a time as possible. For instance, the decay of the verbs in *-μι* takes place before our eyes; we see it begin with Homeric forms such as *δεικνύουσι*, continue through Hellenistic *ἰστῶ*, *τιθῶ*, *κάθομαι*, until Modern Greek is reached, in which *εἶμαι* alone remains from the rich Indo-European formation. In Latin the same process was completed before the beginning of written records. 'Itacism,' from its beginning with the transition of *ει* into *ē* in the ancient Corinthian dialect (6th century) to its completion with the transition of *η* and *υ* to *i*, lies entirely within the textual tradition of Greek. The process was at work for about 1,500 years, *i.e.*, from 600 B.C. to A.D. 900, as regards common Greek; but even to-day it is not entirely complete, for *η* and *υ* have still in some dialects their old values as *e* and *u*.

There are philologists who are accustomed to characterize all modifications of classical Greek as due to the decline or deterioration of the language. How wrong such an opinion is appears from the fact that some tendencies of classical Greek have only attained adequate expression in the modern language. So, for example, the old dualism expressed in the two forms *ἔγραφον ἔγραψα* only reaches completeness in the modern differentiation of the future into the two forms *θα γράφω* and *θα γράψω*. Modern Greek, accordingly, shows that the distinction between imperfective and perfective action, far from vanishing in post-classic times, has remained sufficiently vigorous to create new forms supplementary to those of classical Greek.

If the development of a language can be traced through three thousand years, we may expect to find that in the succession of phenomena certain processes are at times repeated, and observations of this kind are of special importance for the study of the laws of linguistic development. We know, for instance, that in prehistoric Greek, long before the time of our textual tradition, the palatalization of *q^{*}i*, *q^{*}e*, has led through *či*, *če* to *τι*, *τε* (*e.g.*, in *τίς*, *τέ*, *πέντε*), and that this process repeated itself at the end of the classical period, spreading over a great part of the Modern Greek dominion to an extent which cannot at present be exactly delimited. In Crete and other islands, in the Peloponnesus and elsewhere, *ki*, *ke* has become *či*, *če*, *tsi*, *tse*, and the like, exactly as in the Romance languages.² But whereas in the Romance languages this sound-change is almost universal, it is restricted in Modern Greek to particular dialects; and I mention it because just in the same way the prehistoric change did not establish itself in all dialects; for instance, the

¹ *The Value*, etc., p. 19.

Vernacular (Edinburgh, 1911), § 17.

² A. Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek*

Aeolic group has *πέσυρες* for *τέσσαρες*. Further, the assibilation of *τι* to *σι* (*δίδωσι, τίθησι*) is a characteristic of the ancient eastern and central dialects; and the same change is found again in Modern Greek as a characteristic of the speech of Crete and some other islands of the Aegean, in which places words like *μάτια, στρατιώτης* have become *μάθια, στραθιώτης*. In inflexion also we find examples of the repetition of the same process of change after an interval of time. Thus the ancient passive aorist *ἐδόθην*, according to the probable hypothesis of J. Wackernagel, had its origin in the 2 s. *ἐδόθης* (=old Indian *adithās*)—that is to say, this single form has developed into a complete tense formed on the analogy of *ἐβάλην, -ης, -η*, etc. In the same way the Modern Greek imperfect *ἐφιλοῦσα, -ες, -ε*, etc., has its origin in 3rd pl. *ἐφιλοῦσαν*, which is found in the Hellenistic period. Let me give one more example of a less obvious character. In the ancient Cretan dialect there occur nominatives such as *ἀμέν* for *ἀμές, τινέν* for *τινές*; and Johannes Schmidt has shown that these forms are occasioned by the 1 pl. ending which appears in *φέρομεν*.¹ Now the modern dialect of Aravanion in Cappadocia furnishes the form *ἐσεῖτ* for *ἐσεῖς*, 'you,' which is clearly occasioned in the same way—i.e., by the analogy of the 2 pl. *λέτ* (= *λέγετε*) and similar forms.² Such examples can be multiplied to any extent.

A detailed comparison of the development of Greek with that of Latin and Old and Modern Indian would be calculated to enlarge greatly our knowledge of the general character and causes of linguistic development. No adequate inquiry of this kind has yet been made. For instance, what has been said about the parallel development of Greek and Latin is far from sufficient.³ Such a comparative history of Greek and Latin and of Greek and Indian and German would be of value to the whole Science of Language, for it shows over long periods the general conditions and effects of linguistic development. Even a superficial comparison brings out the difference of rate of linguistic transformation in different languages. The rate of transformation seems to be much slower for Greek than, for instance, for the Romance and Germanic groups.

The sound changes of Modern Greek, though greater than those in Italian, are less pronounced than those of French and English, especially where unaccented syllables and terminations are concerned. In accordance the Romance languages have lost all, English nearly all, the case-forms: whereas Modern Greek has kept all the old cases (except the dative) and the different types of declension. Compare, for instance, the Modern Greek *φίλος, φίλου, φίλο(ν), φίλοι, φίλω(ν), φίλους* (as in Classical Greek), and the Italian *amico*, (plural) *amici* against the Latin *amicus, amici, amicum*, etc.; or the English *day*

¹ See Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gramm.*, p. 273.

² See Hatzidakis, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, xxiv, 342.

³ Körting's book, *Neugriechisch und Romanisch* (Berlin, 1896), is unmethodical, and therefore a failure. K. Dieterich in *KZ.* xxxvii. 407 sqq., xxxix. 87 sqq., Immisch in his *Sprach- und Stilge-*

schichtliche Parallelen zw. Griech. u. Lat., N. Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum, xxix. 27 sqq., and Pfister in *Vulgärlatein und Vulgärgriechisch*, Rhein. Mus. lxxvii. 195 sqq., make some suggestive remarks.

(plural) *days* against the Gothic *dags, dagis, daga, dag, dagós, dagê, dagam, dagans*.

We must not, however, underestimate the distance between Ancient and Modern Greek, as Professor Hatzidakis has lately done.¹ The modern Cappadocian dialect, for instance, has developed in such an original manner that it differs from common Greek more than French differs from Italian or Italian from Latin. We may put it generally, and say that the energy of dialectic differentiation in Greek is not less than that seen in the Romance languages; for between the dialects of the Peloponnesus, Macedonia, Cyprus and Cappadocia, there is a distance not surpassed by that which separates Italian, Spanish, French and Roumanian. Indeed, the difference between the Tsaconian dialect, the descendant of the old Laconian, and all the other dialects, cannot be equalled by any differences among the Romance languages as I know them. Nevertheless, the centrifugal forces in Modern Greek must be accounted weaker than those in the Romance, Germanic and Slavonic languages. These latter have produced more than a single literary form; while Greek, from the Hellenistic period down, and even before this, has always possessed the same centripetal or unitary tendencies. It never occurred to the modern Greeks to create distinct literary dialects—one for the Greek kingdom itself, another for Cyprus, another for Pontus or Cappadocia.

For all problems concerning the highest and ultimate principles of linguistic science, we must utilize the comparison of different languages; and the longer a language-history the greater our gain from it. The philologist, therefore, who takes an interest in the universal science of language, must not neglect Modern Greek, which has a documentary history of nearly 3,000 years, and one differing widely from that of the other European languages.

We have already touched upon the subject of literary dialects. In Greece throughout the whole of its history this has shown unique features. We see to-day in Greece the struggle for a new form of literary speech. This 'battle of language' has a universal interest, for it teaches us what processes accompany, and what conditions influence the rise of a new literary dialect. A young and energetic party, which grows from day to day, has for about fifteen years been struggling against the traditional literary speech, the *καθαρεύουσα*, which artificially preserves ancient Greek forms and words. These reformers aim at creating a new language of literature, which shall agree with the living popular language and draw its power from it. They desire what we have long possessed, a natural and national speech, free from the chains of the past, however glorious, like French and Italian, which have liberated themselves from bondage to Latin, or English and German, which have won the place

¹ Περὶ τῆς ἐνότητος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Ἑθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου 1909. 47 sqq. Professor Hatzidakis, relying on his list of words, says that half the words of the Homeric vocabulary survive in Attic, and a third of these in Modern Greek (6480 : 3485 : 1165); of the 4,900

words of the New Testament, 2,280 are still used ἐν τῇ κοινῇ λαλιᾷ. These statistics are open to the objection of including words owing their vogue to literary influence, and before admitting their validity we should apply the same test to the relations of Latin and Italian.

once held by Latin, as the language of monks and scholars. For us in 'Europe' this struggle for a really modern language belongs to the past. In Greece we see before our eyes how progress struggles with tradition, and how the national spirit is roused by an endeavour to introduce vernacular forms and words like *πατέρας* for *πατήρ*, *νερό* for *ῥῥδωρ*, *σπίτι* for *οἰκία*, or to banish the dative from the written language. The study of this process teaches us not only how a new literary form of speech arises, but also what psychological factors, national or individual, prevent or promote such a process. It enables us to realize what difficulties the great Dante had to face in elevating the *lingua uolgaris* to the literary rank of Latin, and why the language of the great reformer Luther was so long in winning its victory over German dialects of North and South. And we see from the Greek parallel that such literary innovations came not only through academic discussion, but also through passionate strife. The present opportunity of observing the struggle for a new literary dialect illustrates in many details similar conflicts in the past, not everywhere perhaps so passionate as in modern Greece, where this literary question has incited men to political revolution, and even resulted in bloodshed.

The new literary idiom is based on colloquial Greek, but forms also a higher unity, above the dialects. Greece had already solved this problem when Hellenistic Greek developed out of Attic, and united the whole of Hellenism in a common spoken and written language which finally superseded the old dialects. The study of this process, the rise of the so-called *κοινή*, receives useful suggestions from the history of Modern Greek. So I come to my special theme to which I wish to call your attention, and proceed to inquire what is the value of Modern Greek philology for the study of Ancient Greek. Modern Greek research proceeded upon wrong lines until thirty years ago,¹ and in consequence its importance for Ancient Greek was first sought in a wrong direction. It was believed that Modern Greek was a descendant of Aeolo-Doric dialects, and even that certain Modern Greek sounds and inflexions must be derived from prehistoric Greek types. Thus, for instance, every *a* where Attic had *η* was thought to be Doric, the nom. and acc. plural *τιμές* = *τιμαί(-ας)* was identified with Aeolic *τιμαίς* = *τιμάς*, the old digamma was everywhere recognized where Modern Greek *β* or *γ* or another consonant did not clearly correspond with identical sounds in the ancient language. In (dialectic) forms like *ἀγαπάεις* for *ἀγαπάς* the original uncontracted form was seen; and in cases such as *ἐρώταγα* = ancient *ἐρώτων* the genuine Indo-European type was believed to survive. A scientific fantasy which was guided by no method regarded Modern Greek and its dialects as a help in recognizing unknown dialectic forms of old Greek, and even forms from prehistoric and pre-Hellenic times. Scholars affected by this *Archäomanie*, as it has been called, never examined or explained the absurd historical premisses on which those grammatical derivations and

¹ See Thumb, *Die neugriech. Sprache*, Freiburg i. B., 1892.

speculations rested. European and Greek philologists revelled in the great antiquity of Modern Greek; and when the truth about its origin had already been stated, a Greek¹ still praised its Homeric character. Even to-day there are occasionally Greeks who surpass their predecessors, if possible, and make the most absurd assertions as to the archaic character of their mother tongue; but they are amateurs, of no scientific importance, who are no longer taken seriously. For we have long known that Modern Greek with its dialects descended from the κοινή or Hellenistic common speech. This statement has changed the point of view from which the relation between Ancient and Modern Greek must be considered.

In the first place, the present-day view of Modern Greek has a negative side; our knowledge of the ancient dialects cannot be enlarged by the study of the modern tongue, at any rate not on the basis of clear and undisputed facts. The traces of ancient dialectic elements are too unimportant, and their recognition in Modern Greek depends too much upon the ancient traditional dialectology for us to draw any certain information from studies of this kind in the modern language. It is possible enough that a digamma should live on in the β of a rare dialectic word or place-name, but, apart from Tsaconian, only the place-name Βοίτυλο (a village in Maina) eludes critical examination;² for βολκός 'kiddle' (Western Peloponnesus) recently supposed to come from an ancient *Φολκός,³ has its digamma disproved by the fact that ὀλκός and ἔλκω in antiquity show no trace of it. On the other hand, an old digamma cannot be proved by the M.Gr. word because a β in other words also appears spontaneously before an initial ο.⁴

It is therefore not worth our while to look in Modern Greek for traces of ancient dialect phenomena. The search would be a failure, and sheer waste of energy, for the direct way to the sources is shorter and surer. There is only one exception. The Tsaconian, spoken in the Parnon mountains, is the only descendant of an ancient dialect, and we may characterize it as a mixture of old Laconian and Hellenistic elements.⁵ In this single case we can reconstitute an ancient dialect, starting from a modern one; and with the additional help afforded by tradition we can delineate the features of the later Laconian. As I remarked years ago,⁶ it would be worth while to apply Tsaconian to the examination of the text and language of the Laconian psephism in Boethius, *De Institutione Musica*, I., 1, a forgery by a grammarian of the Imperial age. Professor von Wilamowitz, through neglecting the help of Modern Greek, has failed to advance the linguistic interpretation and reconstruction of this text.⁷ Further, Tsaconian gives us some knowledge of old Laconian characteristics

¹ Κοντόπουλος, 'Αθανασία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, ἡ ἀνείρεσις τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς γλώσσης ἐν ταῖς δημώδεσι διαλέκτοις, Athens, 1884 (2nd edition!).

² See most recently Hatzidakis' Μεσαιωνικά καὶ νέα Ἑλληνικά II. (1907) 316 sqq.

³ See Σκιάς in the Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου, 1911, 217 sqq. (K. Dieterich, *Byz. Zeitschr.* xxi.

286, also expressed doubts.)

⁴ See Hatzidakis *l.c.*

⁵ See Thumb, *Handbuch der griech. Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1909), 90 sqq.

⁶ *Hellenismus*, pp. 36 sq.; most recently *Indog. Forsch.* xxxiii. 298.

⁷ *Timotheos, Die Perser* (Leipzig, 1903), 69 sq.

preserved in the later Laconian; thus Professor Hatzidakis has shown¹ that it not only proves an old pronunciation of *υ* as *u*, and so confirms the ancient tradition, but also proves that under certain conditions Laconian made *υ* into *iu*—a fact previously known only for the Boeotian dialect, and quite new for Laconian.

But that which we may glean from Tsaconian is quite trifling in comparison with the rich harvest of information that Modern Greek yields concerning Hellenistic. The modern language enables us, first, to deduce the spoken *κοινή* independently of the ancient sources, and so to fill up the gaps in our textual tradition. Then it renders possible a critical examination of this textual tradition. And so by the combination of these processes we can form an accurate conception of that important period of Greek.

Beginning with the first point, we may observe that our scientific research has the same task and the same method as the study of Vulgar Latin by the aid of Romance philology. Since we may assume that Modern Greek dialects began to differentiate markedly between A.D. 500 and 1000, it follows that the deduced common basis of Modern Greek and its dialects represents Greek as spoken about the end of antiquity. Let us see now in a rapid review how Later Greek appeared about A.D. 500, if we reconstruct it with the help of Modern Greek alone, renouncing the aid of textual tradition.

1. The *vocalism* had already reached the stage known as 'Itacism,' found in the language of to-day: *ει* and *η* had become *i* everywhere, and so had *η* almost everywhere; *οι* and *υ* were pronounced alike, partly as *i* and partly as *ii*; *αι* had the same sound as *ε*, and *ευ*, *αυ* were either *ev*, *av*, or *ef*, *af*. Vowel quantities were levelled: all accented syllables, whatever the original quantity of their vowel, became uniformly half-long, while all unaccented syllables were short. The tone difference between acute and circumflex had disappeared, the two accents denoting essentially stress, not pitch.²

That the state of vocalism presupposed by Modern Greek really belongs to the close of antiquity is proved by the Northern Greek dialects of to-day. Here every unaccented *i* and *u* has been reduced or has disappeared, every unaccented *ε* and *ο* has become *i* and *u*. In these changes the ancient *ι*, *η*, *υ*, *ει* and *οι* are alike treated as *i*, *ε* and *αι* as *e*, *ο* and *ω* as *o*. The Northern Greek changes of vocalism imply that Itacism had become complete. And since we may assume that these developments in Northern Greek started between A.D. 500 and 1000,³ the stage of Itacism must have been fully reached about the end of antiquity.

2. The *consonantism* too has the same aspect as that of Modern Greek. The old *φ*, *χ*, *θ* have become *f*, *ch*, *þ* (except that *σθ* is *στ*, *χθ* is *χτ*, and *φθ* is

¹ Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxxiv. 81 sqq.

² For a certain musical element in Modern Greek accent, see H. Pernot, *Phonétique des parlers de Chio*, 50 sqq.; also Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gramm.*, 176 sq.

³ See *Hellenismus*, p. 165, *Prinzipienfragen, der Koiné-Forschung*, *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Alt.*, 1906, pp. 258 sq. Kretschmer, however (*Der heutige lesbische Dialekt*, pp. 5 sq.), is not certain as to the antiquity of the Northern Greek phenomena.

φτ), and β, γ, δ are υ, ζ, δ̄, except in the combinations μβ, γγ, νδ, where the mediae remain unchanged. The tenues as a rule suffered no change, but they were softened after a nasal (as in ἔμπορος, ἔντερα, ἀνάγκη), and became fricatives before τ (κλέπτῃς becoming κλέφτῃς, ὀκτώ ὀχτώ, etc.); the nasals disappeared before φ, χ, σ, as νύφη, Κωσταντῖνος; ζ and σ before a voiced consonant were sounded z, as in κόσμος.

3. In the inflexion of the nouns may be noted the loss of the dative, and such paradigms as γλῶσσ-α, -ας, -αν, -ες, -ῶν, -ας, or -ες; ἐλπίδ-α, -ας, -αν, -ες, -ων, -ας, or -ες; πόλι, πόλις, πόλιν; ναύτ-ης, -η, -ην, -ες, -ῶν, -ες, or -ας; πατέρ-ας, α, αν, -ες, ων, -ες, or -ας; ψωμ-ᾱς, ᾱς, -ᾱ, ᾱδες; ἀλεπ-οῦ, -οῦς, -οῦδες. The pronouns ἐμέ and ἐσέ had become ἐμέν(α) and ἐσέν(α), ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς had been replaced by σεῖς and σᾱς, οὗτος by τοῦτος, and ὅδε had disappeared.

4. In verb-inflexion it is characteristic that the present active participle became indeclinable, the infinitive was limited (the substantival use must have retained its position unimpaired), reduplication was lost, and so were the middle aorist, the optative, and the perfect passive. The -μι verbs were transformed into verbs in -ω, except εἰμί, which was however conjugated as a middle (εἶμαι, εἶσαι (ἔνι), εἶμεθα, εἴσθε (ἔνι), with imperfect ἤμην, etc.). Subjunctive and indicative flexion coincided, as did that of imperfect, perfect, and aorist (ἔγραφα, ἦλθα, ἔγραψα, εὔρηκα), the perfect tense receiving the syntactical force of the aorist.¹

It is however remarkable that ἔδωκαν and ἔδοσαν, ἔθηκαν and ἔθεσαν lived on together. The difference between active and middle persisted, though middle and passive forms were levelled, and the subtleties of the ancient middle were lost. The total list of *media tantum* verbs was not reduced, for such losses as παραιτῶ for -οῦμαι, 'resign,' were compensated by innovations like χαίρομαι.

Such is the picture, in a few broad lines, of Hellenistic as presented to us by the comparative study of Modern Greek and its dialects. It is a hypothetical reconstruction, and we ought, if we had no other evidence, to place the asterisk before these assumed earlier forms, and write τῆς *γλῶσσας, οἱ *ναῦτες (*náftes), *εἶμαι (*íme), *ἔνι, *ἔγραφα, *ἦλθα. The comparative method however permits us to regard them as really existing: it is only on their relative age that we might entertain doubts, had we not direct textual evidence, so as to feel hesitation in ascribing them to the end of antiquity. But now the textual tradition, presented most conspicuously in the papyri and inscriptions, affords us immediate evidence that the deduced forms really existed in the Hellenistic age. Thus Itacism in its first stages can be distinctly observed from the third century B.C.; the Hellenistic change of θ to ϑ is proved for the second century A.D.; the accusative πατρίδαν and such forms as ἦλθα, ἔγραφα have been attested from the beginning of our era; ἔχουσες=ἔχουσαι from the first century A.D.; the genitive τοῦ ἀπηλιώτη from

¹ This statement is made on the assumption perfect.
that the modern κ aorist continues the old

the second century; ἦμην, 'I was,' from the third century B.C.; εἶμαι, 'I am,' from the fourth A.D. And if we consider that the Hellenistic texts do not reflect the real condition of the spoken language—on this see below—we may assert with confidence that the κοινή as deduced from Modern Greek was spoken at latest about the fifth century A.D. Indeed, we might safely go further, and claim that it shows us the condition of vernacular Greek as far back as the third: the speech of the common people had by the middle of the Imperial epoch a very Modern Greek appearance.

This result, gained by a comparison of Modern and Hellenistic Greek, is a starting-point for further research, for it entitles us to supplement our deficient knowledge of the κοινή from living speech. How we may do this I may illustrate by one or two examples. Years ago I concluded¹ from modern forms such as ἀλεκάτη, κρεββάτι (for ἡλακάτη, κραββάτιον) that in the κοινή unaccented ρα, λα changed into ρε, λε; and these forms have since been discovered in Hellenistic texts. In the same way I attribute Modern Greek θωρῶ, χρωστῶ, σωπῶ (for θεωρῶ, χρεωστῶ, σιωπῶ) to the κοινή, although they are not yet attested by any text. The Modern Greek ἐφέτος, 'this year,' and ἀφονκράζομαι, 'I listen,' are proof for ἔτος and ἀκροάομαι with *spiritus asper*—the first form being attested, the latter presumed. Μολίβι, 'lead,' takes us back to an ancient μόλιβος, which can be supported by written tradition.² Ἀρκούδα, 'she-bear,' proves an ancient ἄρκος beside ἄρκτος, and this form duly appears. Modern Greek ἀκλουθῶ = ἀκολουθῶ, σκόρδο = σκόροdon, πέρσι = πέρυσι, περιβόλι = περιβόλιον are the product of a phonetic law by which one of two vowels flanking ρ or λ falls out; and P. Kretschmer has recognized this in Hellenistic phonology from the occurrence of such words as σκόροdon, Μελπίνη, φερνίκη.³

If Modern Greek provides us with new facts in Hellenistic, it serves further to establish forms for which there is no certain textual tradition. In Hellenistic texts we frequently find forms unknown to the classical language, which astonish a student who comes fresh from the schoolmaster's Greek to the study of papyri and inscriptions. Philologists in consequence emended Hellenistic texts without scruple, according to the pattern of classical grammar. One day Polybius was treated in this manner by Dutch scholars; another day it was inscriptions or papyri; even the Byzantine authors have been 'corrected' by the philologists of Bonn in accordance with the same Attic prescriptions. For these philologists thought they understood Greek better than the Greek authors themselves. But one who knows Modern Greek looks at such forms as ἄλλες = ἄλλας, ἐμέν = ἐμέ, γέγοναν = γεγόνασι, εἶδα = εἶδον with different eyes: he sees therein the earliest monuments of the developments that issued in the Greek of to-day, and collects them as valuable testimonies which he tries to explain, but refuses to correct like a schoolmaster with a pupil's exercise. There are, no doubt, in papyri and inscriptions many

¹ *Indog. Forsch.*, ii. 85.

Thumb, *Gr. Gramm.*, pp. 156, 160.

² Hatzidakis, *Glotta*, iii. 70 sqq.; Brugmann-

³ Brugmann-Thumb, *l.c.*, p. 80.

wrong spellings and grammatical blunders made by uneducated men. Not all that is written may be admitted as evidence of living speech. The occurrence of individual mistakes and momentary slips of the tongue must be acknowledged, and has of course its interest for the psychology of speech; but it is unconnected with the actual history of Greek.¹ We must therefore first inquire whether such curious forms are individual or not. As a rule, the repeated occurrence of strange forms proves their linguistic value. If, however, they are isolated, we must seek some criterion to determine whether they really belong to living speech. Here Modern Greek can help us, and it may prevent us from rejecting an isolated textual form. For that which actually lies in the direction of Modern Greek development cannot be a mere slip of the pen or an individual blunder: it must be evidence of the linguistic condition of its age. Thus, for instance, the nominative ἡ γῆς for γῆ, or the adjective ἄσκεπος for ἄσκεπτος—both of which are found in Graeco-Latin glossaries—are confirmed by Modern Greek ἡ γῆς, and formations like ἀνέγγιγος for ἀνέγγικτος. It is wrong, therefore, to conjecture ἄσκοπος for ἄσκεπος.² A gloss βυζιν is silently read βυζίν by a Neogrecist (not βίζιον, as the editor has it), because he knows Modern Greek βυζί(ν), 'nipple.' The aorist subjunctive ἔρχω³ for ἔλθω reminds us of the Modern Greek aorist ἦρχα.

Philologists who are shocked by such 'barbarisms,' and neglect them as simple blunders, have the old instinct surviving that only the classical and literary languages are really worth studying. They cannot appreciate Hellenistic Greek as a living development; and Modern Greek moves their contempt, 'because it has ἀπό with the accusative!'

Of course it is not always easy to form a decisive judgment as to the linguistic value of dubious forms. Hence the need of a close acquaintance with the modern tongue, if we would estimate correctly the relations between the ancient and the modern. External resemblance or identity between a papyrus form and one found in Modern Greek does not necessarily imply a true historical connexion. The numerical τέσσερις on a Hellenistic inscription⁴ will not be taken as prototype of Modern Greek τέσσερεις; for the former is occasioned by the confusion of *i* and *e*, characteristic of the κοινή of Asia Minor, whereas the modern form is produced by the analogy of τρεῖς. Again, at first sight the isolated and strange future εἰπόσει, unearthed by Radermacher,⁵ might be supposed to have a relation to the Modern Greek εἰπώθηκα and εἰπωμένος. But a future like εἰπόσει having no analogy in the modern language, we must regard it probably as an individual aberration, starting from the Hellenistic 3rd plural εἵποσαν, according to the analogy of ἐδούλωσαν: δουλώσει, and the like. General rules cannot be laid down for instances such as these; every case must be determined by special examination.

¹ Nachmanson, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altgriech. Volkssprache* (Uppsala, 1910), has not paid sufficient attention to this point of view.

² See *Prinzipienfragen*, p. 249, where further examples of the same kind are given.

³ *Papyri Iandanae* (Leipzig, 1912), No. 22—between A.D. 619 and 629.

⁴ *Journal of Hell. Studies*, xxii, 358, No. 119.

⁵ *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (Tübingen, 1911), p. 82.

But what is to be done if strange innovations in Hellenistic are at once well attested by textual tradition, and lacking in support from Modern Greek, either directly or by some indirect precedent? The answer to this question will appear later, when we try to describe the general character of Hellenistic in the light of the modern language.

As Modern Greek affords us the means of enriching our knowledge of Hellenistic speech, we shall not be surprised to find it help us in understanding and interpreting Hellenistic texts. Above all it throws light on the meaning of single words. Thus Hellenistic lexicography gains by the study of Modern Greek. Exactly as we use the latter in reconstructing Hellenistic phonology and accidence, we may ask whether the meaning of certain modern words may not be applied to their ancient prototypes.

I will first give some characteristic examples from Greek scholars of the present day. In Euripides *Cyclops* (v. 694) we find *κακῶς* in a context which excludes the usual sense of the word. The Dutch philologist Cobet has therefore conjectured ἄλλως 'in vain.' The Greek Pallis¹ reminds us of Modern Greek τοῦ κάκου 'in vain,' and the difficulty disappears if we give this meaning to *κακῶς* in the passage of Euripides. Pallis, who has translated the New Testament into vernacular Greek, has also explained Mark vii. 19, by interpreting the word *βρώματα* not as 'food,' 'meat,' but as 'stench,' 'impurity,' with the Modern Greek meaning.² Again, he has translated ἡμέρα εὐκαιρος in Mark VI. 21, not as 'convenient day,' but as 'an empty day,' 'a holiday,' according to the Modern Greek meaning of *εὐκαιρος*.³ Thus a layman, whose mother tongue is Modern Greek, has been able, without scientific study, to enlighten philologists and theologians; for in the really good dictionary of the New Testament by Zorell⁴ both interpretations are accepted, although Pallis' name is not mentioned. If even a superficial knowledge of Modern Greek, without scientific research, promises such advantages, a thorough inquiry into the language will be still more profitable. A short paper by the Greek Kujeas⁵ furnishes a good illustration. In the *Characters* of Theophrastus a children's game is described, and the expression ἄσκὸς πέλεκυς is used in connexion with the alternate lifting up and setting down of children. The expression has puzzled philologists, but Kujeas has found the solution of the riddle in a saying of his Peloponnesian home (Aviá in Laconia). Those words accompany the action of lifting and setting down, and mean 'light like a leather bottle' (which floats) and 'heavy like an axe' (which sinks in water).

The student of Hellenistic texts must not be influenced by his classical Greek—he had better bend his eyes forward to the modern language or, at least, he must remain unprejudiced. Thus did Wellhausen in one of his

¹ In *Class. Rev.*, xix. (1905), 36; Rouse (*ibid.*) gives another instance of Modern Greek as a help for Ancient Greek.

² Pallis, *A Few Notes on the Gospels* (Liverpool,

1913), p. 14.

³ *L.c.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Novi Testamenti Lexicon Graecum*, Paris, 1911.

⁵ *Hermes*, XLI., 478 sqq.

illuminating commentaries on the Gospels, translating Matthew XIV. 15, ἡ ὥρα παρήλθεν by 'the time is advanced,' or proposing for the verb παράγειν the meaning 'to go on.' The excellent orientalist was guided only by his natural feeling, for he did not know that the presupposed meaning of παρά is directly confirmed by Modern Greek expressions like παραπάνω, 'higher up,' παρακάτω, 'further down,' παραμέσα, 'more inside.' Again, if we observe, e.g., that the modern meaning of καιρός, 'time,' or χρόνος, 'year,' is already attested in papyri,¹ we are entitled to project the Modern Greek meaning of words into the period of the κοινή, even when Hellenistic texts do not oblige us to do so. The verb τραγουδῶ, for example, must have had the modern meaning 'I sing,' at the end of the classical period, although this sense is not attested by ancient texts; that the noun τραγῳδός had, in fact, the meaning 'singer,' is proved by a Greek loan-word in Syrian, which has this sense.² Modern Greek νηρόν, 'water,' must also have existed in antiquity; it is the contracted form of νεαρόν, and the meaning 'fresh water' is attested by a late-Greek schoolbook. For these reasons I see no difficulty in assuming that the meaning of ὁ ῥιζικός (sc. λίθος), 'reef' (from ῥίζα 'root'), which is adopted by Joh. Schmidt in an interesting paper on Modern Greek τὸ ριζικό (= Italian *risico*)³ belonged to the Hellenistic epoch, although at present no direct proof exists.

Some groups of words may be mentioned in which Modern Greek can provide direct and decisive evidence towards determining the ancient meaning. The names of plants and animals are particularly suitable for investigation, because the modern vocabulary has been carefully examined in special treatises, and rendered available for research.⁴

A few examples, taken at random, may show how the meaning of ancient names of plants, where it is doubtful, can be elucidated by an appeal to Modern Greek.⁵ Ancient Greek ἀγλαοφῶτις, 'a certain plant,' according to the Greek dictionaries, is the Modern Greek ἀγλαοφώτης, *Paeonia officinalis*; Ancient Greek ἄρακος, 'a kind of lentil' is Modern Greek ἀρακάς, *Pisum sativum* or *Lathyrus sativus*, or *Vicia dasycarpa*; ἐχινόπους, 'a prickly plant,' is Modern Greek ἀχινόποδας, *Genista acanthoclada*; Ancient Greek βρώνη or βρυωνία, 'a creeper or climbing plant,' is modern βρυωνιές, *Smilax aspera*; κόνυζα, 'a plant of strong smell,' is modern ἀκόνυζα, *Inula graueolens*; λαφάνη, 'an eatable herb,' is λα(μ)ψάνα, *Sinapis arvensis* or *putescens*; περδίκιον, 'a plant' (!) is modern περδικάκι, *Parietaria*; φυλίκη, 'a species of Rhamnus,' is modern φυλίκι, *Phyllyrea media* or *Rhamnus alaternus*. These examples suffice to prove the value of further investigation. But I do not know any enquiry into

¹ See K. Dieterich, *Rhein. Mus.*, LIX., 234 sq.

² See Krumbacher, *Byz. Zschr.*, xi, 523.

³ *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di G. Ascoli* (Torino, 1901).

⁴ Cf. Heldreich, *Τὰ δημῶδη ὀνόματα τῶν φυτῶν ἐκδιδ. ὑπὸ Σπ. Μηλιαράκη*, Athens, 1910. A list of plant-names is also given by Wilski in Hiller v. Gartringen, *Thera*, iv., pp. 119-130. Lundström,

Botaniska Lexika fran medeltiden, Minneskrift Göteborg, 1910, pp. 42 sqq. Krumbacher, *Das neugriech. Fischbuch*, *Sitz.-Ber. d. Bayer. Akad.*, 1903, pp. 345 sqq. (Compare also G. Schmidt, *Vremennik*, x, 603 sqq.)

⁵ I give the Modern Greek names and their botanical denotation from Heldreich, *op. cit.*

Ancient Greek plant-names in which Modern Greek is utilized;¹ only it may be pointed out that Victor Hehn, in his standard work on cultivated plants and domestic animals, does not quite neglect the Modern Greek plant-names.

With regard to the names of animals, the conditions are similar. Medieval Greek works, such as the *Book of Fishes*, edited by K. Krumbacher, give us links in the connexion between ancient and modern names, and Krumbacher's treatise illustrates further how the interpretation of Ancient Greek words is assisted by the evidence of the modern language. It does not surprise us, however, when we find Professor O. Keller, in his book on the animals of the ancient world,² overlooking Modern Greek and Krumbacher's observations. Many a classical scholar would leave a name uninterpreted rather than look for help in the most promising quarter. One example will suffice; I give it in Krumbacher's words.³ 'The *συναγρίς* (an ancient name of a fish), which enjoys an unnecessary anonymity in our dictionaries, can almost certainly be identified. It is the *dentex vulgaris* or "Zahnfisch" (French "denté").'

Philologists who neglect Modern Greek on these points cannot plead scarcity of relevant literature, for there are several useful works in existence.⁴ But they might express doubt as to whether the words we have cited have actually preserved their ancient meaning to the present time. Of course, changes of meaning might occur, just as, for instance, the Indo-European name of the beech, **bhāgos*, Old German *buocha*, Greek *φηγός*, became the name of a species of oak in a prehistoric epoch of the Greek language. But the burden of proof lies on those who doubt the identity of ancient and modern meaning. If a Greek word has the same meaning in all the modern dialects, this meaning must hold for Hellenistic Greek, exactly as we attribute to the *κοινῇ* Modern Greek sounds and inflexions under the same circumstances.

Unfortunately we do not yet possess the great Modern Greek Thesaurus, to give us information about the areas over which the use of the rarer words extends. Still, the lexicographic material, which is already known and easily accessible, will serve at least for a beginning, as the examples and investigations given above have shown.

But does Modern Greek afford us any possibility of adding to the ancient vocabulary quite new words, which are not attested at all in antiquity? Theoretically, the question must be answered in the affirmative, yet the solution of the problem is not so simple. For only if a word is found in dialects which are very distant from each other, for instance, in the Peloponnese or Crete and Cyprus, in Thrace and Asia Minor, are we authorized to attribute the word to the Hellenistic stock, according to the same method

¹ A few interesting equivalences are pointed out by Kalitsunakis, *Mitteil d. Seminars für orient.-spr.* XIII. (1910), 96 sqq.

² *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, 1913. The same holds good of Robert, *Les noms des oiseaux*, Neuchâtel, 1911.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

⁴ See, besides the literature quoted above, p. 192, note 4, Krumbacher's edition of the *Book of Fishes*. Add Stefani, Forsyth (Major), W. Barbey, *Karpathos, Étude géologique*, Lausanne, 1895.

which permits us to infer an Indo-European word **g^wōus* 'ox,' from Old Indian *gāus*, Greek *βοῦς*, Old High German *kuo*. When we have the Modern Greek Thesaurus, it will be easy to find out the words which Modern Greek adds to the ancient vocabulary; at present such an inquiry is very toilsome, as we are obliged to collect our material from a great many dialect glossaries and monographs. But let us make an attempt with the scanty material which has been recently published as a specimen in an official paper of the Greek Committee for the new Thesaurus.¹ There nine words are treated; four of them, which I give in the ancient form—viz., **ἡλιόπυρος*, **θαρρετός*, **λαβόω*, **παραθαλαμίδιον*, are missing in our Greek dictionaries. A priori, these four words could equally belong to Ancient Greek. But as the descendants of *παραθαλαμίδιον* (*βαρθαλαμίδι*, *βαρταλαμίδι*) are found only in Crete, in the Aegean Sea, and Macedonia, it is dubious whether the word existed in antiquity, although its phonetical character would allow us to conclude that it did. With regard to the others, however, I do not hesitate to attribute them to the *κοινή*. For *ἡλιόπυρος* (-ον) 'warmth of sun,' 'sunny place,' does occur in Asia Minor, on the islands from Cyprus and Rhodes to Lesbos, in Euboea, in Epirus and the Peloponnese. *Θαρρετός*, 'light-hearted,' is found in Thrace, Bithynia, Macedonia, Peloponnesus, and Zacynthus, and in the Tsaconian dialect, and it is moreover attested by medieval texts. Finally, **λαβόω* (Modern Greek *λαβώνω*) is in common use. Also the form of these words harmonizes with the character of Hellenistic Greek, and therefore I should not be surprised to find them one day in a papyrus, as on the other hand many a papyrus word, which is an *addendum lexicis*, or many a Greek loan-word from Latin, Hebrew, or Armenian (also lacking in the Greek dictionaries) is confirmed by Modern Greek.² Sometimes internal (etymological) reasons lead us to assume that a modern word might be old; thus I myself³ have concluded from Modern Greek *σύμπλιος*, 'neighbour,' and *σύμπλια*, 'near,' although the form has only been found hitherto on some islands (Andros, Naxos, Syra, Melos, Carpathos), that there existed an Ancient Greek word **σύμπληγος*, 'knocking together,' 'confining,' which is, moreover, the basis of ancient *συμπληγάς* (*Συμπληγάδες νῆσοι*).⁴ And Hatzidakis has declared Modern Greek *γρίπος* to be old, on the authority of the Theocritean *γριπεύς*⁵—without knowing that *γρίπος* is well attested in antiquity.⁶

Finally, there is a whole group of modern words, which, for external historical reasons, must be attributed to the ancient vocabulary—viz., the

¹ Ἐπιτροπή τοῦ λεξικοῦ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης. Ἀνακοίνωσις πρώτη. Athens, 1912. Compare, too, the lecture of Hatzidakis given before the Congress of Orientalists (Athens, 1912), Ἀθηνᾶ xxiv. 373 sqq., and the short but instructive article of Παπαγεωργίου, Περὶ τῶν σημασιῶν τοῦ ῥήματος ἀρμενίζω, Ἀθηνᾶ, xxiv. 459 sqq.; where the ancient ἀρμενον and ἀρμενίζω are elucidated by Modern Greek.

² See the bibliography, Thumb, *Arch. f.*

Papyrusforsch., ii. 406 sqq.

³ *Indog. Forsch.*, xiv. 349 sqq.

⁴ The derivation from *συμπλήσιος*, *συμπλησιάζω*, which is tentatively suggested by K. Dieterich, *Byz. Zschr.*, x. 595, and resolutely accepted by M. Vasmer, *ib.* xvi. 552 sq., seems to me hardly substantiated.

⁵ See Ἀθηνᾶ, xiv. 523.

⁶ See Μέγα Λεξικόν (Athen 1901-1906) s.v., and Lambertz, *Glotta*, v. 136.

Latin loan-words which survive in Modern Greek. They must have come into Greek in the Latin epoch—i.e., before the formation of the Romance languages, at the latest at the end of antiquity.¹ Our dictionaries know nothing about words such as *βίσεξτος, *bisextus*, 'leap year'; γούνα, *gunna*, 'fur'; κάστρον, *castrum*, 'castle'; κιστέρνα, *cisterna*; *κομμέρκι(ο)ν, *commercium*, 'customs duty'; λοῦρον, *lorum*, 'strap'; μαντίλι(ο)ν, *mantile*, 'handkerchief'; ῥόγα, **roga*, 'pay'; *σαγίττα, *sagitta*, 'arrow'; σκουτέλλα, *scutella*, 'plate'; ὀσπίτι(ο)ν, *hospitium*, 'house'; τούμπα, *tumba*, 'hill'; φασκιά, *fascia*, 'tie'; *ὄψικιον, *obsequium*, 'wedding or funeral train'; and although the papyri and inscriptions afford a store of information on Latin loan-wards in Hellenistic Greek,² yet the number of such words is augmented when Modern Greek is drawn on. The words that have been found hitherto in Hellenistic documents prove that Latin words in Modern Greek represent an old Hellenistic inheritance. Similar evidence of antiquity can be found in other directions: for instance, I may call attention to the fact that we are justified in claiming ψίκι or Byzantine ὄψικιον as an old element in Greek on the ground that it occurs as a loan-word in the New Hebrew literature of Midraš (in the form *apsikîn*).

We have shown by a few details in grammar and lexicography in what manner our knowledge of Hellenistic Greek can be revised, confirmed, and extended by the help of Modern Greek study. Modern Greek is at least as important in enabling us to form correct views upon the ancient κοινή as a whole, and as a link in the long history of the Greek language, whether literary or spoken. Our reconstruction of the κοινή, which has led us from Modern Greek to the latest period of antiquity, results in a language which is very similar to Modern Greek. But the distance between the written texts, even those of the most vulgar character, and the spoken language we can reconstruct is very considerable. Although the speech of literary tradition is much influenced by the living language of the Hellenistic epoch, yet it is not replaced by it in any written document of Hellenism. For the written language shows throughout a mixed character. The proportion of the constituent elements drawn from the traditional and the living speech varies; but even the most vulgar papyri stand at a certain distance from the vernacular language of their times. Without the knowledge of Modern Greek this fact would not appear so clearly. Hence arises a problem of textual criticism which has great importance for some Hellenistic authors, who, in opposition to the Atticising literature, avail themselves of a more popular language. Are all the vulgar (or Modern Greek) forms which occur in the manuscripts in reality elements of the original work? Uneducated copyists might spontaneously and involuntarily have inserted such forms into the manuscripts; conversely, educated copyists might have removed vulgar

¹ Cf. particularly G. Meyer, *Neugriech. Studien*, iii. (Wien, 1896).

² Cf. from the most recent literature, especially Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griech.-römischen Osten*, Leipzig, 1906; (thereon see Thumb, *Indog.*

Forsch. Anz., xxii. 39 sqq.); *Der Sprachenkampf im röm. Reich*, *Philologus*, Suppl. x. (1907); Wessely, *Die latein. Elemente in der Gräzität der ägypt. Papyrusurkunden*, *Wiener Studien*, xxiv. (1902) 99 sqq., xxv. 40 sqq.

forms, on account of Atticising tendencies, which have dominated Greek literature from the beginning of our new era till to-day. If therefore (for example) the manuscripts of the Christian Apocrypha show more or less the occurrence of vulgar forms, we may suppose that the textual tradition has been infected and adulterated so as to bring it into harmony either with the classical or the vernacular language. It is not possible to reach a decision by general rules, but only by an exact examination of each literary work and of its textual tradition;¹ and here (a danger to be avoided) the knowledge of Modern Greek might be used in a mistaken direction: a form in the manuscripts might remain unaltered just because it is modern.

Modern Greek in the first place helps us to recognize the condition of the spoken language, which lies at the back of the written language. For it follows from the very existence and the character of Modern Greek that the *κοινή* was a spoken language, used by all Greeks. Here we touch the highest problems, which concern the general character of the *κοινή*.

Modern Greek, together with its dialects, has arisen from the *κοινή* as a unity, and this fact presupposes the disappearance of the ancient dialects. It is the same process which took place in Vulgar Latin and in Armenian (not in the Germanic languages); Latin put an end to the old Italic dialects (Oscan, Umbrian, etc.), and thus became the mother of the Romance languages. Literary Armenian, used as the common language of life, also caused the contemporary dialects to disappear, and became the starting-point of modern dialectical differentiation. So the Modern Greek dialects—those, for example, of Megara, Crete, Naxos, and Cyprus—as we said before, are not descendants of ancient Doric, Ionic, or Cyprian, but descendants of that *κοινή* which in antiquity was spoken in the several districts. The ancient dialects, therefore, must have disappeared in the course of the Imperial period.

Indeed, the ancient inscriptions present the counterpart of this. We observe how the dialects decreased more and more from the third century B.C. on, until they were everywhere displaced by the *κοινή* about the third century A.D. Some scholars have attempted to prove that this process, which is observed in the inscriptions, reflects only the usage of the official language, but is no illustration of the condition of the spoken language.² This may be true in part. But on the whole the inscriptions certainly reflect the natural process, which ended with the disappearance of the old dialects; for Modern Greek imperatively demands this theory, and it seems to me sophistical to dispute the connexion between the evidence of the inscriptions and the evidence deduced from Modern Greek.³ Thus the first epoch of the *κοινή* may be defined as a transition state between the classical epoch, where the dialects existed independently beside each other, and that basis of Modern

¹ Cf. *Hellenismus*, pp. 12, 186 sq.

des Hellenismus. Wien, 1907.

² Cf., for instance, Wahrmann, *Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der griech. Dialekte im Zeitalter*

³ Cf. *Hellenismus*, pp. 28 sqq.

Greek, where the old dialects had been quite absorbed by a unitary and common speech. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to define the *κοινή* as *only* a transition state: it has also an independent character, compared with Attic Greek, from which it originated in its essentials, as well as with the language which must be assumed as the basis of Modern Greek. This is well illustrated by the fact that certain Hellenistic formations are missing in the modern language. Forms such as *οὔθεις* for *οὐδεῖς*, *κατήγωρ* for *κατήγορος* and *βάθραξ* for *βάτραχος*, *συγγενεῦσι* for *συγγενέσι* and *γονεῖσι* for *γονεῦσι*, *μειζότερος* for *μείζων* and *βέλτατος* for *βέλτιστος*, *ἦτω* for *ἔστω*, *ποιώη* and *δώη* for *ποιοίη* and *δοίη*, *δῶναι* for *δοῦναι* are neither Attic nor predecessors of Modern Greek types. They are peculiar characteristics of the *κοινή*, showing a disposition to a new development, just like all the other innovations of the *κοινή*, only that they remained confined to the Hellenistic epoch and vanished again, partly because the grammatical categories to which they belonged (dative, optative, infinitive) have been lost. We may call them forms of transition, as belonging to Greek only for a time. We must lay stress upon these formations in order to obtain a clear conception of the notion *κοινή*; innumerable are the lexical innovations, which have become obsolete again in the modern speech. A rapid comparison of the Hellenistic and the modern dictionary suffices to show this.

As we have said, the modern dialects have nothing to do with the ancient dialects.

Modern Greek is divided into numerous dialects. Disregarding Tsaconian, we recognize to-day the following main groups: (1) Pontus and Cappadocia; (2) Cyprus and the south-eastern islands (Rhodes, etc.); (3) Crete and the Aegean Sea; (4) the northern islands (Lesbos, etc.); (5) Thrace and Macedonia (perhaps with Thessaly); (6) Euboea, Attica, Megara (perhaps with the Peloponnesus); (7) Epirus and the Ionian islands (whose peculiar features have been insufficiently investigated); (8) the Greek dialects of Southern Italy. The greatest difference is that between the dialects of Pontus and Cappadocia on the one side, and all the rest on the other. The northern dialects (numbers 4 and 5, less distinctly numbers 1 and 7) differ from the southern by a number of vowel changes, involving the disappearance or reduction of every unaccented *i* or *u*, and the change of unaccented *e* and *o* into *i*, *u*.

The grouping of the modern has no relation to that of the ancient dialects. The former must accordingly have developed from a new basis, which can only be the *κοινή*. The question now arises, to what extent do the modern dialects, at least in their embryo forms, pre-exist in the *κοινή*? Had Hellenistic Greek dialectic variations which can be regarded as forerunners of the new dialect differentiation? The ancient texts give us practically no information. Hitherto we have not got beyond a few insignificant details, and some very general reflections. Probably an exact and minute examination of the Hellenistic sources will some day permit us to advance, especially, I believe, on the lexical side. But we have already seen that here also we cannot do

without the help of Modern Greek. As things are, the problem of Hellenistic dialects cannot be solved except by utilizing the modern language, or at least working in close connexion with it. Before examining this, however, it is important to define our task exactly and to put our question into the right form.

When in its first epoch Hellenistic Greek began to eliminate the dialects, the *κοινή* naturally varied as spoken in Doric, Aeolic, or Ionic territory according to the various admixture of old dialectic ingredients. But these elements decreased continually, and the traces of the old dialects which have been locally preserved till the present day¹ are so trifling as to have had no influence in differentiating the modern dialects; for those traces—themselves equally insignificant—which are common to the *κοινή* as a whole, do not concern our present problem. Moreover, Egypt and Asia Minor, a large part of Hellenistic territory, do not belong to the domain of the ancient dialects. And finally, if we speak of dialectic varieties of the *κοινή*, we refer especially to such local differences as have developed from the new-born unity of speech. Taking into account these points of view, we must formulate our two questions, as we did above, guided by Modern Greek. We may now put the one question somewhat more exactly thus: In the Imperial age did dialect marks exist which may be regarded as germs of the modern dialects? The answer to this question depends again upon another: What are the oldest dialectic phenomena of Modern Greek? Do they belong to the Hellenistic epoch? We have already touched on the conditions under which Modern Greek phenomena of a local or dialectic character can be attributed to the *κοινή*. The problem has received but little attention.²

That Modern Greek forms of local currency can be derived from analogous forms of the *κοινή*, follows immediately from their occurrence in Hellenistic texts; and when we combine these forms of Ancient and Modern Greek, we deduce a number of facts which must be interpreted as signs of dialectic variation in the *κοινή*. Compare, for example, the following features:

1. *Phonology*.—In Pontic the vowel *η* is preserved as *e* (*πεγάδι*=*πηγάδιον*), whereas it has become *i* everywhere else. The change of *η* to *i* is well known from Hellenistic texts. If, now, the pronunciation of *η* as *e* still exists in a modern dialect, we must infer that in antiquity there were two provinces of the *κοινή*, one with *η*=*i* and another with *η*=*e*. The development of *γ* in Modern Greek *δουλεύγω* for *δουλεύω* is dialectal, but it is old, as the form *εὐγιλάτου* for *εὐιλάτου* in a Hellenistic inscription of Amorgos clearly shows: and it is remarkable that the modern dialect of Amorgos belongs to the group of which this intrusive *γ* is characteristic. In antiquity, therefore, there were two distinct provinces, one with *δουλεύω* and one with *δουλεύγω*. *Geminata*, or double consonants are, as a rule, simplified in modern speech, and this change was already taking place in the Hellenistic age. But *geminata* have

¹ See *Hellenismus*, pp. 53 sqq.

² K. Dieterich treated it with some minuteness in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxxix. 81 sqq. He gives

some useful hints, but his methods are too constructive, and his results often leave us sceptical.

been preserved to the present day in the south-western islands. In the *κοινή* therefore there were districts which simplified double consonants, and districts which preserved them.

2. *Inflexion*.—The coincidence of nominative and accusative singular is peculiar to Pontic (e.g., *ὁ ἀδελφόν*). It is witnessed by a *tabella defixionis* from Cyprus.¹ The phenomenon is accordingly ancient, but dialectic, for most of the modern dialects continue to distinguish *ὁ ἀδελφός*, *τὸν ἀδελφόν*. The 3rd plural *φέρουν* already appears in the Imperial epoch, but the type *φέρουσι* is also preserved to-day in the Aegean, in Cyprus, and elsewhere. There were consequently in Hellenistic times districts with *-ουν* and districts with *-ουσι*.

We may then state the case generally thus: If we can establish the existence in antiquity of some local innovation in Modern Greek, and if side by side with this novelty the old form survives in another district, we may recognize in these differences the beginning of a dialectic differentiation in the *κοινή*. In this way we recognize also districts preserving final *-ν*, and others where it was lost; a (small?) area showing palatalization of *κ* beside the usual *κ*; a district with *ἀδερφός* and one with *ἀδελφός*; districts with the several endings *ἔλαβαν* and *ἐλάβασιν*, and the now extinct *ἐλάβοσαν*, or again with *ἐφίλουν* and *ἐφιλοῦσαν*, or the imperatives *γράψον* and *γράψε*. When in this way local varieties of the *κοινή* have been indicated, I believe that a closer examination of Hellenistic Greek along such lines will be more successful than parallel researches in vulgar Latin. Thus some years ago I succeeded in discovering a real dialect in the *tabellae defixionum* from Cyprus, and I formulated a relation between this and the modern dialects of the south-east.² Guided by such facts, we may suppose that certain marks of modern dialects were already local features of Hellenistic Greek, even if they are not directly attested from antiquity. But we cannot give a general rule as to the circumstances under which a modern dialecticism must be regarded as old. Normally, however, I venture to say, modern dialecticisms which are proper to a group of discontinuous modern dialects, can be derived with some probability from local varieties of Hellenistic Greek, unless spontaneous development in different regions may be expected. Thus, for instance, features common to the dialect group of Athens, Aegina, and Megara, which for several centuries was cut off from the other dialects by the Albanians, and common also to the dialect of the Maniates, as agreements between Epirus, Peloponnesus, and Southern Italy, may be considered as local elements of Hellenistic Greek. For this reason I believe that the *κ* aorist, which appears in Aegina, Athens, Kyme (in Euboea), Epirus, and Maina, must be connected with the Hellenistic *perfectum historicum*. Further, it seems to me legitimate to deduce from agreements between Pontic, Cappadocian, and Cyprian characteristics of an ancient 'Eastern' *κοινή*, because these dialects have been separated from each other through five centuries, by Seljuks and Turks, and because on account of this isolation the

¹ See *Principienfragen*, p. 258.

² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

Pontic and Cappadocian dialects have preserved their archaic character.¹ To the establishment of an Eastern *κοινή*² I attach particular importance for our views of Hellenistic Greek. For the linguistic diversity of the Greek mother country and Hellenized territories outside leads us by *a priori* reasoning on to some other problems, and in the first place to the question whether the old dialects in Hellas, or the speech of the Hellenized population in Asia Minor, influenced to any significant extent the development of Hellenistic and Modern Greek. For the purpose of these problems, Hellenistic must be divided into three main areas, the Greek mother country, Asia Minor (with Syria), and Egypt. But as Egypt and Syria have been lost again to Hellenism by the Arab conquest, only the linguistic contrast of Asia Minor and continental Greece concerns us for the purposes of our inquiry, which is based on Modern Greek. A comparative grammar of the dialects of Asia Minor would be indispensable for the problem we have touched upon. Hitherto we have only some preparatory monographs, such as the excellent sketch of the Cappadocian dialects which we owe to the English archaeologist Dawkins.³

What we have so far learnt from Hellenistic sources about the *κοινή* in Asia Minor is but scanty. Some phonetic influences of the indigenous population can be distinctly recognized—viz., the confusion of *tenues*, *mediae*, and *aspirates*, and that of the vowels *e* and *i*. But these very features (which are also found in Egypt) have remained barbarisms of the lower classes, and do not survive in Modern Greek. Other features, which are also probably due to the influence of the indigenous population of Asia Minor—viz., the change of *υ* into *i*⁴ and the levelling of vocalic quantity (which had begun in Asia and in Egypt⁵)—have become common in Modern Greek. Asia Minor initiated these innovations, and since their development required time, the *κοινή* of Asia Minor (and of Egypt) must have differed for a period from that of continental Europe in these features, which slowly spread over the whole of Hellenism. If now Asia Minor was the birthplace of some common innovations, it follows of course that other innovations, arising in that country, might have failed to make their way through the whole domain of Hellenism. Perhaps the spontaneous nasalization of consonants, as in *σάμβατον* for *σάββατον*, comes under this category. The last word has not yet been spoken about this phenomenon,⁶ which appears both in the *κοινή* and in Modern Greek, but cannot yet be brought under a precise phonetic law. We need a more complete knowledge of the field of this nasalization. I therefore express myself with reserve. Examining in Buturas' collection of material the instances of a spontaneous and purely phonetic nasalizing, in their local distribution, I found that the majority of dialectic (not common) examples

¹ The archaic character of these dialects of Asia Minor has been emphasized by K. Dieterich, see *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxxix., pp. 86 sqq.

² Cf. also K. Dieterich, *l.c.*, p. 87.

³ *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxx. (1910), pp. 109-132, 267-291.

⁴ Except the cases I have dealt with in *Hellenismus*, pp. 194 sq. (*υ* to *υ*).

⁵ See *Hellenismus*, pp. 143 sq.

⁶ Not even by Buturas (*Glotta*, v. 170 sqq.), who treats it rather unmethodically.

belong to Eastern Greek (Asia Minor and Cyprus, Cos, Carpathus, Rhodes and Lesbos), and that they become less and less frequent as we go west.¹ It seems as if the process had started in Hellenistic Asia (and in Egypt), and extended in such a manner that single words with nasalized consonants ultimately found their way into western Hellenism. If my theory is correct, the *κοινή* of Asia Minor was accordingly distinguished from that of Greece also by the nasalization of consonants. Moreover, the innovation seems to be affected by the influence of the phonetic system of the Hellenized indigenous population,² whereas other traces of such an influence have been either lost again or become common to the whole language, as has been observed above.

But the *κοινή* of Asia Minor was not only exposed to the influence of indigenous language: it lay within the sphere of the Ionic Greek. It is remarkable that Ionic traces have been preserved in the modern dialects of Pontus³ in a more characteristic manner than can be predicated of other old dialectic traces surviving in the new. In keeping with this archaic character of Pontic is the existence in Pontic and Cappadocian of two other archaic survivals, which have some importance also for the delineation of New Testament Greek.⁴ Firstly, these dialects only have preserved the ancient possessive adjective *ἐμός*, *σός*, while in all other dialects those forms are supplanted by the enclitic genitives *μου*, *σου*, etc. Secondly, the infinitive, which in the New Testament had begun to be displaced by the construction with *ἵνα*, has shown itself capable of resistance in Pontic, where it is still used to-day after several classes of verbs, as, for instance, verbs of motion. It is worth remarking that the infinitive of purpose, which appears distinctly in the New Testament, seems to be of Ionic origin: at any rate, it is but rare in Attic Greek.⁵ Thus we see how Ionic influence worked through the *κοινή* upon the configuration of the modern dialects of Pontus. Since the disappearance of the pronouns *ἐμός*, etc., and the supersession of the infinitive by *ἵνα* can be seen already in the Hellenistic age, it follows again that in antiquity there were two dialect-areas, one more extensive, in which the pronouns *μου*, *σου*, etc., and the *ἵνα* construction progressively superseded *ἐμός* etc. and the infinitive, and a smaller one where these processes were brought to a stop. To this latter area belongs the Greek of the New Testament: it has the infinitive instead of *ἵνα* after the very classes of verbs which now in Pontic demand the infinitive, and in the Gospel of John *ἐμός* is used far more frequently than in the other New Testament writers. We can therefore draw the conclusion that New Testament Greek is a local variety of Hellenistic, written by men who spoke the Eastern *κοινή*.

The facts we have adduced are not the only marks of a local colour in

¹ I have disregarded Tsaconian. Nasalization is more frequent in Epirus than elsewhere in the west.

² As I observed years ago in *Hellenismus*, pp. 133 sqq.

³ See *Hellenismus*, pp. 87 sq.

⁴ Cf. *Principienfragen*, p. 259 (with bibliography), and Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 40 sq.

⁵ See Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Gramm.* § 580 (pp. 593 sq.).

this Eastern *κοινή*. A typically local character is perhaps to be discerned in the confusion of case-usage which seems to be more frequent in the vulgar inscriptions of Asia Minor than in continental Greece. If exact research in Hellenistic inscriptions should confirm this assertion,¹ it might be connected with the larger simplification and confusion of cases characteristic of the modern Pontic and Cappadocian dialects.

To illustrate the local character of Biblical Greek, I may mention further some less important points. The New Testament word *ῥαλος* agrees with Modern Greek; but ancient authorities give *ῥελος* as Hellenistic. Verbal forms such as *ἐκχύννω*, with double *νν*, live on in Cyprus (*ζώννω*, etc.), whereas the type with one *ν* is modern common Greek. The form *ἀποστείλω* in Acts vii. 34, which is declared to be 'quite insupportable' as a hortative subjunctive, may be compared with the Pontic pres. indic. *στείλω*. Also the New Testament use of *ὅτι* before oratio recta² may be cited, since this became a rule in the Syrian historian Malalas³ and in the Cappadocian dialect⁴—that is, in Eastern *κοινή*.

Finally, I have pointed out elsewhere⁵ that the vocabulary of New Testament Greek seems to have had some peculiarities indicating a relation to the Eastern *κοινή*, the suggestion coming to me again from Modern Greek.

If the study of Modern Greek opens such a wide horizon of new problems in the ancient language, its value is thereby sufficiently established. We have seen how Modern Greek, if combined with the study of Hellenistic texts, gives us valuable information about the special character of an Eastern *κοινή*; and this result again authorizes us to avail ourselves of the modern dialects for completing the delineation of the Eastern *κοινή*, even if ancient sources be silent. So for instance I do not hesitate to attribute to the ancient Eastern *κοινή* as characteristic the change of *σφ* to *σπ* (*σπίγγω* = *σφίγγω*), which is found in the modern dialects of Cyprus, Pontus, and Icarus, or the form *γλέπω* for *βλέπω*, which occurs in Cyprus, Cappadocia, and Chios. Guided by Modern Greek, we have found that Hellenistic Greek must have become locally differentiated, and we can adduce facts to prove that this differentiation was partly due to the influence of a foreign Hellenised population. As the same factors have been at work in the differentiation of Vulgar Latin in Italy, Gaul, and Spain—the Celtic language, for example, has influenced the Vulgar Latin in Gaul⁶—it cannot surprise us to find that the indigenous languages of Asia Minor have influenced the development of Greek. Nevertheless, I must maintain emphatically that foreign influences play but a small part in comparison with the great number of innovations which have altered the

¹ We must take into account in this connexion the fact that in Asia Minor and Egypt there is a relatively greater number of vulgar texts; and of course these inscriptions must only be compared with similar texts from European Greece.

² Blass, *Grammar of N. T. Greek* (E. T.), p. 286.

³ K. Wolf, *Studien zur Sprache des Malalas*, 2 (1912), p. 73.

⁴ See Dawkins, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxx. 128.

⁵ *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, xxii., pp. 484 sqq.

⁶ See *Hellenismus*, p. 150, and Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der roman. Sprachwiss.*² (1909), 207 sqq.

character of Classical Greek. For in their general characteristics Hellenistic and Modern Greek are a natural development of Attic Greek, and Modern Greek is not, as has been said, the continuation of a Hellenistic jargon—*i.e.*, of a speech which might be compared with Creolian Spanish, Pigeon-English, or the Greek of the so-called Levantines. Indeed, such forms of speech did exist in antiquity—I have pointed out a mixed Graeco-Latin jargon of this kind in North Africa¹—but they were without significance either for the development of Greek or for the literary productions in the Semitic and Egyptian provinces of Hellenism. The most prominent literary monument of the Graeco-Semitic *milieu*, the New Testament, does not at all show the character of Jewish Greek or *Grec hébraïsant* or any other similar terms by which it has been characterized.

At this point we touch upon a problem which has during recent years greatly occupied students of the Bible and Hellenistic Greek—the question of Hebraisms or, better, Semitisms in New Testament Greek. There was a time when every phenomenon of Biblical Greek which, from a classical point of view, was felt to be strange, was regarded as the effect of Hebrew or Semitic thought. If this opinion has been given up to-day, it is due to the work of a few scholars, and I am glad to say that in England my dear friend, Professor Moulton, has contributed in an excellent manner to the victory of the new ideas. Since papyri have been seriously studied, New Testament Greek has been drawn out of its linguistic isolation and brought into close relation to Hellenistic Greek. In the course of this lecture we have seen how New Testament Greek can be illuminated by Modern Greek for the very reason that it is a branch and document of Hellenistic speech. The celebrated question of Hebraisms must, therefore, be considered from the same point of view. One who, like myself, examines this question from the Modern Greek point of view does not at all understand how, for instance, the simple paratactic connexion of sentences; the frequent occurrence of *καί*, ‘and’; the distributive use of *δύο δύο*, ‘every two’; the meaning of *νύμφη*, ‘daughter-in-law’; and many other idioms in the New Testament² could have been occasioned by the influence of Hebrew or Aramaic. Can we really suppose that similar things in Modern Greek have been borrowed from Semitic? Are we to believe, for instance, that Modern Greek (*ὅ*)*ποῦ*, ‘who, which,’ is due to the influence of Hebrew because Hebrew uses *’ašer* in a similar way, or that the Modern Greek idiom *δὲν ἦρθε ψυχή*, ‘nobody has come,’³ is an imitation of Hebrew because *ψυχή* bears the meaning of Hebrew *nēp’eš*, ‘soul’? That some expressions could find their way from a book like the Bible into the vernacular language, and even into the dialects,⁴ is not inconsistent with our view. In the grammatical development of Greek, however, such an

¹ *Indog. Forsch.*, Anzeiger, xviii, 43.

³ Psichari, *l.c.*, p. 183.

² Cf., besides *Hellenismus*, especially Psichari, *Essai sur le grec de la Septante*, *Rev. des Et. juives*, 1908, pp. 161 sqq.

⁴ For examples see Π. *Λωρεντζάτος*, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, xvi., pp. 212 sqq.

influence is out of the question. Therefore, if a New Testament Greek idiom has a parallel in Modern Greek, we must regard it as a spontaneous product of the Greek spirit, and not as the effect of foreign influence. The fact that Hebrew sometimes coincides with Greek in this or that respect is no proof of the theory of Semitic influence on the development of Biblical or Hellenistic Greek. For different languages in their development not infrequently arrive at the same result independently of one another, and I do not think it necessary to give examples of this. 'Un peu de philologie et beaucoup de grec moderne mettent dans la juste voie,' as Jean Psichari, the French Neogrecist,¹ rightly says with regard to the question of Hebraisms.

Let me conclude my lecture with the following remarks on New Testament Greek. If Modern Greek had no other value than to help Biblical philology in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, this alone would be of no small importance. The New Testament is a first-class document of Hellenistic Greek, and all the advantage which we derive from Modern Greek for the study of the *κοινή* is of benefit to the study of Biblical Greek. Thus our methodical results lead us to the convincing conclusion that every student who occupies himself with Hellenistic or Biblical Greek must become acquainted with Modern Greek—the more the better. In my scientific work I considered it my principal task to utilize the study of Modern Greek for research into Hellenistic Greek, and in the new edition of my book on the *Sprache des Hellenismus*, which I am at present preparing, I hope to utilize it still more; for, since the publication of my book, the study not only of the *κοινή*, but also of Modern Greek, has made progress. Of course, he who wishes to bring each into a correct relation to the other must have more than a merely superficial knowledge of Ancient and Modern Greek. Dangers also exist for him who would without criticism combine all linguistic facts which bear some resemblance to one another. There are instances where the resemblance between Hellenistic and Modern Greek is accidental, or at least open to different interpretations. The problems are sometimes so complicated that even one who has a good and critical knowledge of the facts cannot, for the present at least, offer a satisfactory solution.

There is still need of much hard work in Ancient and Modern Greek before we can elucidate all the problems of Hellenistic Greek, the solution of which will depend upon a utilization of Modern Greek. And when we have succeeded in this work, I am afraid new problems will arise; for to the branch of philology in which we are working by new methods, and with a material that grows from day to day, Goethe's words, 'Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen, doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch,' are truly applicable.

I have confined myself to the history of language. Of course, the value of Modern Greek is not confined to this. Other philological problems have been indicated by scholars such as Hesseling and Menardos, whom I named at the

¹ *Grec de la Septante*, p. 192.

beginning of my lecture. The so-called folklore of antiquity has, above all, much to gain from Modern Greek philology. Cosmological and mythological ideas, customs, and superstitions of the Modern Greek people, all have their roots in antiquity. Thus modern folklore enables us, like modern language, to understand and to complete ancient traditions; and I think the advantage will here, perhaps, be yet greater than in the study of the language, because the sources of ancient folklore are not so abundant as those of the vernacular language. But few philologists make use of this source of knowledge. Linguistic inquiry will be a guide in these studies; for the methods and problems of both are very similar. Just as the different sides of human culture are closely connected and phenomena in one sphere of culture have their parallels in the others, so do the different branches of philology or *Kulturwissenschaft* help one another, each branch co-operating with the others in the interests of the whole, the study of the human mind and human culture. Hence the history of language is, rightly understood, a piece of the history of culture.

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A FALSE QUOTATION FROM PLAVTVS.

MAYOR on Juv. xvi. 23 cites Plaut. *Cist.* iv. 12. 2 *mulo inscitior*. He is followed by Friedländer *ad loc.* Ellis, in the first edition of his commentary on Catullus, refrains from citing the passage to illustrate lxxxiii. 3 *mule nihil sentis*, but gives it in his second edition on the authority of Scioppius. The phrase is a false quotation and will not be found in any modern text of the *Cistellaria*. Its origin is explained by Taubmann's note, in Gruter's *Plautus*, 1621, on *Cist.* iv. 2. 12 (iv. 2. 10 in modern texts) *Non sum scitior*: 'At Janus Guilielmus "Verum" inquit "est, aut ueri saltem non dissimile, scripsisse Plautum, *Sed nonne ecaster ego sum mulo inscitior?* quod adagionem urbanum et politissimo poeta dignum redolet. Nam ita et multos παροιμιωδῶς, nominabant stupidos et hebetes, καὶ ἀναισθήτους. Catullus: *Mule nihil sentis*. Et hoc, credo, hausit e Brixiana editione in qua est, *Sed nonne ecaster ego sum multo inscitior.*"'

F. W. HALL.

VERSE-WEIGHT.

"Ἴτε δεῦρό νυν, εἵπερ γε δεῖ καὶ τοῦτό με,
ἀνδρῶν ποητῶν τυροπωλῆσαι τέχνην.

READING the *Rhesus* again the other day, I was struck by something strange in the rhythm of its trimeters. Whatever this was, it seemed to have nothing to do with metrical punctuation (caesura, diaeresis, and the like); nor with the use of trisyllabic feet, though on that I shall have something to say. By listening hard I found a clue. The *Rhesus* is very spondaic at the beginning and the middle of the line.

When I looked round for plays least like the *Rhesus* in this respect, the choice was soon narrowed down to the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, and then to the *Agamemnon*. Since the *Agamemnon* belongs to the end of its author's life, I turned next to his *Supplices* as probably the earliest of the seven plays. From Sophocles I chose for comparison the *Antigone* and the *Philoctetes*, the two plays of which the years are best known; the one early, the other late; the one very sparing, the other, for Sophocles, very lavish, of trisyllabic feet. From Euripides I chose the *Hippolytus*, the *Troades*, and the *Orestes*: all three exactly dated; the first and third representing his extremes in this metre; the second midway between the other two. It was short work to add the remnants of Archilochus, Simonides of Amorgos, and Solon. Their poems, and the eight tragedies, I have carefully examined from the present point of view. I will also give figures for the only complete satyric drama and for the earliest comedy of Aristophanes; but for these two plays, and for what I shall say about the rest of the tragedies, a rougher reckoning has had to suffice, the pastime of a few wet afternoons.

Such calculations cannot hope to be precise. Texts differ; 'melic' trimeters are uncharacteristic; the vowels of some words are now long, now short; there is the troublesome business of 'doubtful syllables' in 'weak position'; and so on. I have stuck to Bergk¹ and Hiller-Crusius² for the iambographs, Sidgwick³ for Aeschylus, Jebb⁴ for Sophocles, Murray⁵ for Euripides, Hall and Geldart⁶ for Aristophanes. As for *positio debilis*, I have counted such syllables always long in the iambographs, in tragedy or comedy short or long according to the prevalent usage of the poets with regard to the several combinations of consonants, unless scansion forbids. Stray trimeters

¹ *P. L. G.* ii.⁴

² *Anth. Lyr.*⁴

³ Oxonii (preface dated 1899).

⁴ Cambridge, from 1892 to 1900.

⁵ Oxonii (the 1st edition, undated).

⁶ Oxonii (preface dated 1900).

in the choral parts I have neglected unless they are accompanied by dochmiacs. This is all very arbitrary,¹ but a reckoner who had no such rules would be lost.

The results will appear from the following table of approximate percentages :²

	Date.	No. of Trimeters.	1st Foot.		3rd Foot.		5th Foot.		1st + 3rd + 5th.	
			Iambs.	Spondees.	Iambs.	Spondees.	Iambs.	Spondees.	Iambs.	Spondees.
Archilochus ...	c. 670	c. 38	27	70	27	70	61	39	38	60
Simonides ...	c. 640	c. 179	30	69	49	50	70	29	50	49
Solon...	c. 594	c. 42	39	61	43	54	80	20	54	45
Aesch. <i>Supp.</i> ...	—	476	36	63	28	66	54	45	39	58
„ <i>Ag.</i> ...	458	879	37	61	38	59	60	40	45	53
Soph. <i>Ant.</i> ...	c. 441	916	34	65	32	67	58	42	41	58
„ <i>Phil.</i> ...	409	1080	33	62	31	64	54	45	39	57
Eur. <i>Hipp.</i> ...	428	1008	33	65	32	65	61	39	42	56
„ <i>Tro.</i> ...	415	798	33	58	31	57	56	43	40	53
„ <i>Or.</i> ...	408	1170	30	54	27	56	53	46	37	52
<i>Rhesus</i> ...	—	688	28	70	25	68	60	40	38	60
Eur. <i>Cycl.</i> ...	—	586	30	57	30	57	52	46	37	53
Ar. <i>Ach.</i> ...	425	827	25	57	25	59	35	59	28	58

Books on metre seem to say little about the relative frequency of iambs and spondees, and that little is wrong.³ Horace's lines are well known :⁴

Syllaba longa breui subiecta uocatur iambus,
 pes citus ; unde etiam trimetris accrescere iussit
 nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
 primus ad extremum similis sibi. non ita pridem,
 tardior ut paulo grauiorque ueniret ad aures,
 spondeos stabiles in iura paterna recepit
 commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
 cederet aut quarta socialiter.

¹ Especially, perhaps, in view of the statistics for the quantities of *παρὸς*, *παρὰ*, *τέκν*—, given by H. D. Naylor in *C. Q.* i. (1907) pp. 4 sqq.

² The nearest integers are given. The sum of each pair of percentages falls short of 100 by the percentage of trisyllabic feet (within 1 per cent.).

³ 'Les iambographes n'admettent guère qu'un seul spondée par vers,' says P. Masqueray (*Traité de Métrique Grecque*, § 142). As it happens, about half the trimeters of Archilochus have two spondees, and half-a-dozen more have three; nearly half the trimeters of Simonides have two spondees, and a dozen more have three; and even in Solon trimeters with two or three spon-

dees are not much fewer than trimeters with one or none. Still bolder is A. E. Chaignet (*Essais de Métrique Grecque*, p. 181): 'le spondée, dans l'iambe tragique, était pour ainsi dire obligatoire au cinquième pied.' Had he no eyes or ears?

The best of our recent composers, Jebb, Butcher, Verrall, Archer-Hind, Headlam, agree pretty well with the practice of tragedy, though their verse, and especially Archer-Hind's, is a little too fond of iambs. Whether any of them had consciously analysed the practice of tragedy, I doubt; I fancy they were guided only by a happy instinct and a sensitive ear.

⁴ *Ars Poetica*, 251 sqq.

The interpreters suppose 'that Horace is giving, not a historically exact, but rather an ideal sketch of the development of the verse, describing its various stages as they ought to have been in theory, rather than as he had reason to know that they had been.'¹ In the earliest iambic poet spondees are already not only present but predominant in the first and third feet and in the total of the three odd feet; and Horace's theory has no historical basis at all. In all Greek iambics the spondee is quite at home. All the poets alike make large use of spondees to give weight or slowness to the beginning and middle of the line, but in all alike (even in Aristophanes to a certain degree) the end of the line tends to be comparatively rapid or light. If I may coin some words on the pattern of 'top-heavy,' the typical trimeter is *beginning-heavy* and *middle-heavy*, but *end-light*. Now this has a bearing on Porson's Law. If a spondee is heavier than an iamb, heavier still is a spondee broken by a real pause, a pause that is heard as well as seen. We might well expect, then, that spondees in the fifth foot, as compared with the third, would in tragedy *cohere*; and so, as Porson discovered, they do; whereas spondees in the third foot are mostly *incoherent*, being broken up by the penthemimeral caesura. Again, in some of the later plays of Euripides the preference for end-lightness becomes weak, until in the *Bacchae* the iambs in the fifth foot only just outnumber the spondees, and a different reckoning of *syllabae ancipites* might even turn the scale. Hence we may well allow, as the manuscripts offer, rather more breaches of Porson's Law in these plays than elsewhere.

I can now lay down four rules, which hold for every tragedy of each of the three poets without exception. With each rule I give three ratios, to show the limits of variation in tragedy exclusive of the *Rhesus*, and the ratio of the *Rhesus* itself.

I. In the first foot iambs are outnumbered by spondees (A. *Prom.* 38 : 60, E. *Hec.* 28 : 65, *Rhes.* 28 : 70).

II. In the third foot, the same (A. *Cho.* 40 : 57, A. *Supp.* 28 : 66, *Rhes.* 25 : 68).

III. In the fifth foot iambs outnumber spondees (S. *Trach.* 61 : 39, *Rhes.* 60 : 40, E. *Bacch.* 50 : 49).

IV. In the total of the three odd feet iambs are outnumbered by spondees (A. *Ag.* 45 : 53, E. *Supp.* 37 : 58, *Rhes.* 38 : 60).

Within the limits of these rules, Aeschylus shows some variety. The *Supplices* marks his one extreme with respect to II. III. and IV.; the *Agamemnon* marks his other extreme with respect to III. and IV. The chief difference, however, is between the trilogy and the rest: each play of the trilogy is richer in iambs than any tragedy else, and the *Agamemnon* is slightly the richest of the three.

Sophocles varies a little less. The *Philoctetes*, by the way, has two features

¹ A. S. Wilkins, *ad loc.*

suggestive of the Euripides of its day: its trimeters have more trisyllabic feet, and they are end-heavier, than those of any other play of Sophocles.

Four plays of Euripides—the *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Heraclidae*, and *Hippolytus*—are constituted a compact group, distinct from all his other plays, by their sparing use of trisyllabic feet. In the matter of iambs and spondees also these four plays are very much alike; especially in the fifth foot, with 60 : 40, 60 : 40, 61 : 39, 61 : 39. Then comes the deluge of trisyllabic feet, and at the same time the predominance of iambs in the fifth foot falls away; in the *Bacchae* it can scarcely be felt, and only by exception does it rise in the *Helena* to 58 : 41. In the later manner of Euripides, as in the *Philoctetes*, the *Cyclops*, and the *Acharnians*, spondees in the fifth foot seem to serve as a make-weight against the trisyllabic feet.

The *Cyclops*, by the way, does not differ in the present respect from some late tragedies. The fragments of the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles are hardly a quorum for this purpose, but as far as they go they show a higher proportion of iambs than any tragedy. Menander seems to agree with the *Acharnians* more or less. Lycophron comes under my four rules; and he is fonder of spondees even than the *Rhesus*, but distributes them more evenly between the third and fifth feet.

Let us now return to the *Rhesus*. Under three of the four rules it marks the limit among tragedies. (I.) In the first foot its percentage of iambs is the lowest except the *Hecuba's*, and its ratio of iambs to spondees is the lowest of all. (II.) In the third foot both percentage and ratio are distinctly the lowest. (III.) But in the fifth foot the *Rhesus* is not exceptional; at this point it comes within the range of variation displayed by Aeschylus and Sophocles, and it does not differ much either from the earliest plays of Euripides or from the *Helena*, a late play. Whereas in the first and third feet it marks extremes, in the fifth foot it is commonplace. (IV.) Yet in spite of the fifth foot its ratio of iambs to spondees in the three feet together is the lowest of all.

πρόσθε λέων, ὀπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα.

What are we to make of this strange compound? Those who ascribe it to Euripides regard it as an early work, perhaps his earliest; but by the present tests, whatever they may be worth, it should be later than the early group of four plays in respect of the first and fifth feet, and those four plays are all quite normal, where the *Rhesus* is very abnormal, in the third.

As the iamb is lighter than the spondee, so is the tribrach lighter than the dactyl. As spondees outnumber iambs in the third foot in every tragedy, so, and more so, do dactyls outnumber tribrachs in the same place: by 3 to 1 in Aeschylus, 4 to 1 in Sophocles, 3 to 1 in Euripides.¹ The *Rhesus* has no less

¹ One might expect that the same would be true of the first foot also, but it is not; at least not in Aeschylus or Sophocles, in whom tribrachs have the better of dactyls there by about 4 to 1 and 3 to 1. Of the small and early group of

Euripides three plays have only one such dactyl between them, though the fourth, the *Hippolytus*, has eleven, in deference to the hero's name; but in the rest of Euripides dactyls prevail over tribrachs in the first foot by more than 3 to 2.

than 42 dactyls there against 6 tribrachs, or 7 to 1; another feature of the difference between the *Rhesus* and all other tragedies in the treatment of the middle of the line.

These 42 dactyls, by the way, account for almost two-thirds of the play's 65 trisyllabic feet. In every tragedy the dactyl in the third foot is by far the commonest of all trisyllabic feet, but in no other tragedy does it form so large a proportion of the total. This seems to me characteristic of the metrical style of the *Rhesus*, which is not exactly chary of all such means of varying the metre, but is rather shy, like modern composers, of the rarer kinds.

Its total of trisyllabic feet offers another difficulty to those who would assign the *Rhesus* to the early days of Euripides. In this respect his plays fall into two unequal groups. The smaller and earlier group is close and consistent, and stricter in this matter than Aeschylus as a whole or Sophocles as a whole: the *Alcestis* (438 B.C.), the *Medea* (431 B.C.), the *Heraclidae*, the *Hippolytus* (428 B.C.), with one such foot in 15·2, 13·8, 13·4, and 16·3 trimeters respectively. At one end of the larger and later group stands the *Andromache*, with one in 6·4; at the other end the *Bacchae*, the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and the *Orestes*, with one in 2·3, 2·3, 2·1. To which group belongs the *Rhesus*, with one in 10·6? It is about midway between the *Heraclidae* and the *Andromache*. By this criterion, as by its spondees, it would not seem to be a very early play, certainly not his earliest.

Anyone who cares to carry this verse-weighing further must consider what weight he is to allow to anapaests, dactyls, tribrachs. All would agree that the tribrach is lighter than the iamb. The anapaest would seem to have been felt lighter than the spondee, since tragedy admits it, though under strict limitations, even into the second and fourth feet, and in comedy it has the run of five. The dactyl is harder to weigh. If it was lighter than the spondee, and as light as the anapaest, why did tragedy use it so seldom in the first foot before the later manner of Euripides, and always debar it from the fifth? This last thing, however, may have nothing to do with weight. It may well be due, like the great rarity of tribrachs at that point, to a desire to keep the end of the line *regular* as well as light; an instinct which asserts itself at the end of the Latin hexameter and pentameter and in other metrical forms.

Some may think that the differences with which I have dealt are too small to be telling. But some at least of them are large. Compare Solon with the *Acharnians* in regard to the fifth foot, Simonides with the *Rhesus* in regard to the third. Inside the range of tragedy the differences are less striking, but still significant; and I was encouraged to proceed by the discovery that the four plays of Euripides which agree so closely in other respects agree closely in this, and that there is also close agreement in this respect between the three plays of the trilogy, the most compact group of all. Preferences for heaviness or lightness in the several parts of the line I should suppose to have been instinctive and scarcely conscious, not likely to be upset by large and sudden changes such as we can discern in other features of the metre,

between the *Electra* and the *Philoctetes*, for example, or even between the *Helena* and the *Orestes*. This being so, I am inclined to put some trust in the test of avoirdupois. But all such numerical tests are risky, and I do not flatter myself that any 'cheesemongery' will settle the question whether the *Rhesus* is by Euripides. The evidence on that question¹ is cumulative, and I am content to have added my tittle to the heap.

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POSTSCRIPT.

When this was already in print, I came across an article on 'Porsons Gesetz' by K. Witte in *Hermes* xlix. (1914), pp. 229-245, which led me to another article with the same title by J. Král in *Sitzungsberichte der königl.-böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Philosophie usw.*, Jahrgang 1909, ix. Král reckons the percentage of spondees in the fifth foot of the tragic trimeter at 43·4, and he has forestalled me in finding therein a partial explanation of Porson's Law. This suggestion is curtly dismissed by Witte, who sees in the predominance of iambs not a cause but a consequence of the Law.

The question is easily put to the test. From any tragedy subtract not only all trimeters that have a short syllable clearly exemplifying the Law, but (in order to avoid any questions about marginal cases) all trimeters whatsoever in which the first syllable of the fifth foot is a short final syllable or a short monosyllable: in the remaining trimeters do iambs or spondees prevail in the fifth foot? Of my eight tragedies, three (*Ag.*, *Hipp.*, *Rhes.*) still show a good balance of iambs, in two (*Supp.*, *Ant.*) iambs are about as many as spondees; and even in the other three the ratio of iambs to spondees is about 45 : 55, a ratio very different from that of the first foot or the third. Thus the predilection for iambs in the fifth foot is not due to Porson's Law. We are entitled, then, to look at the matter the other way about, and to draw from this predilection at least a partial explanation of the Law.

E. H.

¹ See W. H. Porter in *Hermathena*, xvii. (1913), pp. 348 sqq.

RAINBOW, SKY, AND STARS IN THE *ILIAD* AND THE *ODYSSEY*:

A CHORIZONTIC ARGUMENT.

THE opinion has been expressed frequently of late, notably by Professor Mackail and Miss Stawell, that the *Odyssey* may well be the work of the advanced years of the Homer of the *Iliad*. Miss Stawell remarks that one of an alert mind must feel that the *Odyssey* is the poem of an older man—one who has conceived and written a poem before. She suggests that that poem may have been the *Iliad*. So Professor Mackail argues that a 'different mind may come to a poet with the lapse of years and with fresh experiences,' and that 'the poet who produced the *Iliad* in the early prime of his life was a poet capable of the artistic and poetical change that is felt in the *Odyssey*, among new surroundings, with an altered view of life, with an imaginative ardour burning less strongly and with increased constructional mastery.'¹

I cannot feel that the poet of the *Odyssey* with his delight in the tale for its own sake, his love for *märchen* and the marvellous, gives indication of a greater maturity than that of the poet who tells of the sorrows of Priam, of Hecuba, of Andromache, of Achilles. The passages in which, as Professor Mackail says, 'a whole criticism of life is concentrated,' are as many in the *Iliad*. Indeed the two² which Professor Mackail cites as pre-eminent in this are taken by him from the *Iliad*.³ The thoughts put in the mouth of Glaucus and of Paris in these places are those of a man who has known the contemplative life as fully as the *Odyssey* poet. In no poem do we find old men represented with greater sympathy and understanding.

I believe that no changed circumstances or experiences in the life of one man can explain the great difference in the temper of the poems. More than one generation of men has passed away between the epic of the *Iliad* and the enchanted tale of the *Odyssey*. A different age, a different taste, a changing faith produced that highly civilized poem. The old weather-gods of the Achaeans are fading out, and Athena, no longer a Valkyrie, but the patron saint of Odysseus, and rather more honourable, though less vigorous and vivid than the Athena of the *Iliad*, and on her way to be goddess of city life, is the divinity most fully in evidence.

In the following discussion of a point of difference which I hold to be of

¹ *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *Il.* VI. 145-9; *III.* 65, 6.

the greatest importance, and not yet, so far as I am aware, sufficiently emphasized, I shall, for the sake of convenience, speak of the poet of the *Iliad* and the poet of the *Odyssey*, without intending to commit myself to a belief in an absolute singleness of authorship for each poem, but realizing with Wolff 'quam egregie Carmini utrique suus color constet.' My argument is that the *Odyssey* differs from the *Iliad* not only in knowing Zeus less in his aspect of Sky-, that is, *aether*-God, but in its lack of sensibility to all the phenomena of the heaven:—'Fire and hail, snow and vapours, wind and storm fulfilling his word.'

The rainbow and the Rainbow Goddess, who acts as messenger for the Sky-God, are found only in the *Iliad*. The Rainbow Goddess appears by implication once in the *Odyssey* in the jest at the expense of Irus the beggar, so called because he ran on errands. The bright rainbow itself, as a thing sent by Zeus as a portent (τέρας) to mortals, is spoken of twice in the *Iliad*. In the second instance it is Athena who comes from heaven wrapped in a gleaming (πορφυρέη)¹ cloud like the gleaming rainbow. In the *Odyssey* Athene never comes so meteorologically as in this case and in *Iliad* Book IV., where she shoots down in the form of a meteor into the Greek camp. In the *Odyssey* she comes as a hearty ship-captain, or a shepherd, or a little girl carrying a pitcher.

The word αἰθήρ 'the scene of meteorological phenomena'² and 'the home and realm of Zeus as raingiver,' appears twenty-one times in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*. The words οὐρανός and ἀήρ occur much oftener in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*, though both, especially οὐρανός, are usual words in both poems. In two places³ in the *Iliad* the genitive Διός is used in the sense of sky, and the preponderance of that aspect of Zeus in the older poem may be seen by referring to Geddes',⁴ where a list of physical epithets of Zeus is given with the number of instances in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The epithets ἀστεροπητής, ἀργικέραννος, ἐριβρεμέτης, στεροπηγερέτης, occur only in the *Iliad*, and κελαινεφής (8-3), νεφεληγερέτης (27-7), ἐρίγδουπος (7-3), ὑψιβρεμέτης (4-2), περφυκέραννος (8-6) occur more frequently in that poem. It may be argued that the name of Zeus himself occurs only half as often in the *Odyssey*. But this very recession of the Sky-God has its significance, which has never been explained away by those who advocate the single authorship. His ὄρος σημαντικόν is mentioned about five times as often in the *Iliad*, and in that poem the adjective Ὀλύμπιος is far more common.⁵

Lightning and fire have a far greater part in the *Iliad*. 'Nowhere except in Dante does fire so penetrate the whole structure,' says Professor Mackail. The splendour of fire, σέλας, is used eleven times in the *Iliad*, and but twice in the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* poet uses the word for the glory of the full moon and for the lightning of Achilles' angry eyes, as well as for the flashing of the lightning bolt and for blazing fire. Radiance, αἴγλη, is used but twice, and of the gleaming of metal in the sun. The phrase ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου appears

¹ 'Lurid'? So Leaf.

² Leaf, *Iliad*, II., App. H, on οὐρανός, αἰθήρ, ἀήρ.

³ *Iliad*, XIII. 837; XIX. 357.

⁴ *Problem of the Homeric Poems*, p. 137.

⁵ According to Gehring's Index, 32-12.

twice, and gives the starting-point for that line of magical beauty in the famous Olympus passage of the *Odyssey*—*λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἶγλη*.

The whirling snowflakes, *νιφάδες*, which give such splendid similes to the poet of the *Iliad*, are never mentioned in the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* poet seems even to have imagined an avalanche. At least his mountain of snow¹ is represented in motion. The poet of the *Odyssey* speaks of snow (*χιών*) three times²—once of its absence from shining Olympus, again of the alleged suffering of Odysseus at Troy on the night of the freezing snowstorm, and third, the comparison of Penelope's tears to snow on the mountain tops melted by the east wind. This last has been well compared by Professor Geddes with the splendid falling snow of *Iliad*, XII. 280, as a 'contrast between two landscapes under snow.' The flight of Iris in *Iliad*, XV. 170, is compared to snowflakes or hail from the clouds. Hail, snow, and ice are mentioned in *Iliad*, XXII. 151. Hail does not occur in the *Odyssey*. And *ὀμίχλη* mist, 'vapours,' is another non-Odyssean word. Though rain is mentioned in the *Odyssey* on occasion, there is nothing to match the magnificent description of the autumn floods, when Zeus pours down his raging waters.³

It is in his awe and wonder before the stars and moon—*λαμπροὺς δυναστὰς ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι*, that the poet of the *Iliad* shows most poignantly the splendour of his genius and his divergence from the quality of the poet of the *Odyssey* with his love for 'flat bits' and a background of sea. The passage in the eighth book of the *Iliad* translated by Tennyson:—*ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην | φαίνεται ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νηνεμὸς αἰθήρ κ.τ.λ.* conveys that sense of great mysterious beauty that overwhelms us and makes us breathless before the loveliness and the awfulness of the stars themselves. The exquisite passage in which Hector's babe is said to be fair as a star, the comparison of Diomed to the star of summer, the simile of *Iliad* XI. 62, where the star emerges in brightness from the clouds, and is again hid in their darkness, will occur to everyone, together with other splendid passages. The poet of the *Odyssey* has the word *ἀστήρ* but twice. Once in a line repeated from *Iliad*, V. 294, we have the short simile *ἀστήρ δ' ὥς ἀπέλαμπε* of a *πέπλος*. In *Odyssey*, XIII. 93, to mark the time of the boat's reaching the island, it is said that at that moment the star most bright arose, which comes to herald the light of early dawn. The passage in which the constellations represented on the shield are enumerated (*Iliad*, XVIII. 483-89) is copied in part in the *Odyssey*. 'The verses in the *Iliad*,' as Miss Clerke⁴ well says, 'have the strong spontaneous ring of originality, while the Odyssean lines betray excision and interpolation.'

The epithet *starry* for the heaven occurs four times in the *Odyssey* and nine times in the *Iliad*. The moon, *σελήνη*, appears four times in the *Odyssey*—three times in a brief stereotyped simile, and again (IX. 144) in a statement that the moon was not shining on a certain dark night (*Odyssey*, IX. 144). In the *Iliad* besides the wonderful passage in Book VIII., there is the magnificent line

¹ *Iliad*, XIII. 754.

² *Odyssey*, VI. 44; XIV. 476; XIX. 204.

³ *Iliad*, XVI. 765-69.

⁴ *Studies in Homer*, p. 45.

ἡέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθουσιν, another reference to σελήνη and two to μήνη. The *Iliad* has also a meteor in IV. 75-79, where Pallas Athene comes to earth in the form of 'a star, a portent for mariners or a wide host of soldiery, and many sparks are scattered from it.'

The poet of the *Odyssey* took 'ready-made'¹ similes from the 'lion' passages of the *Iliad*, but comparisons to stars, lightning, meteor, floods, hail, mist, and driving snow do not appeal to him. Cloud, νέφος, appears three times as often in the *Iliad* as in the *Odyssey*, and νεφέλη twice as often. The cloud simile in *Iliad* V. 523 sqq. is of especial beauty. Fondness for shadows both poems show. The *Iliad* set the fashion with its lovely οὔρεα σκιάοντα and νέφεα σκιάοντα. The words expressing brightness are much more frequent in the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey* λαμπρός occurs but once, and forms of λάμπω but four times. These are characteristic *Iliad* words. The *Iliad* uses φαεινός five times as often as the *Odyssey*. True, we have the gleaming of Olympus in the sixth book of the *Odyssey*, but that is an unearthly splendour of an enchanted spot, not, as in the *Iliad*, the living splendour of the very stars of heaven.

'The counsellor and cloud-compeller of classical Athens was the wizard and rain-maker of earlier times.'² The Zeus of the *Iliad* and his daughter Athene are nearer that earlier stage in which the phenomena of the heavens seen on their semantic heights revealed them to mortals. And the poet of the *Iliad* sees the splendour of the phenomena of nature caused by Zeus with awe and marvelling. No other Greek poet save Aeschylus gives such a sense of the glory of them. 'ὦ δῖος αἰθήρ!' the cry of Aeschylus' great hero, expresses the spirit of the *Iliad*. There is no such thrill of awe and worship in the poet of the *Odyssey* before the grandeur of the elements. So we have in his poem only a jest at the Rainbow Goddess, a Zeus who lives in a shining heaven, not ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι on the stormy top of an ὄρος σημαντικόν, and barely a glimpse of the stars.

With all the fresh light on Greek origins that has come with the recognition of the fact that Zeus² is the patriarchal mountain-god of the invading Northmen, the following passage in Ruskin has a meaning for the Homeric poems which he himself did not know:

'How different must the thought about nature have been of the noble who lived among the bright marble porticos of the Greek groups of temple or palace—in the midst of a plain covered with corn and olives, and by the shore of a sparkling and freighted sea—from those of the master of some mountain promontory in the green recesses of Northern Europe, watching night by night, from amongst his heaps of storm-broken stone, rounded into towers, the lightning of the lonely sea flash round the sands of Harlech, or the mists changing their shapes for ever among the changeless pines that fringe the crests of Jura.'

The *Iliad* is essentially a Northern, the *Odyssey* a Mediterranean poem.

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¹ Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 215.

² Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 68.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 35. No. 1. 1914.

E. G. Sihler, *Cicero. An Appreciation*. A highly favourable estimate of Cicero's powers and career from a forthcoming book. Charles Knapp, *Notes on Plautus and Terence*. Practically a detailed criticism of E. Hauler's revision of Dziatzko's *Phormio* of Terence. He notes the editor's failure to take proper account of American scholars' work within his field. Walton B. McDaniel, *Some Greek, Roman, and English Tityretus*. On the doings of the aristocratic rowdy, for whom this is an appellation, in Greek, Roman, and English history. The word is insufficiently explained by the reference to V. *Ecl.* I. 1, '*Tityre tu patulae*,' etc. The original reference is to '*tityrus*' = satyrus, i.e. 'lecher.' The allusion to V. *Ecl.* would be an afterthought. Tenney Frank, *A Rejected Poem and a Substitute*. Catullus 68A was written to decline a request from Mallius for the consolation of love poems in his desertion, but not sent. Later on, when the conditions were somewhat altered, Catullus complied with M.'s desire, thinly disguising M.'s name in the '*me Allius*' of line 1 and incorporating 21-24 in the poem. W. Peterson, in *More about the Dialogus of Tacitus* replies to Dr. Gudeman's 'rejoinder' on the pagination of the '*Hersfeldensis*,' vol. 35, No. 2. A. C. Johnson adds supplementary notes to his paper on the *Tribe Ptolemais*, vol. 34. R. H. Tukey reviews Norden's *ἄγνωστος θεός* (Teubner).

Athenaeum (Pavia). Vol. II. No. 2.

C. Morelli, *Nerone poeta e i poeti intorno a Nerone*. Seneca was the dominating figure in the literary circle that gathered around Nero. He seems to have inspired the frequent references in the poets (e.g. Calpurnius Siculus and Lucan) to the inauguration of a new Golden Age under Nero; see *Ἀποκολ.* 4, Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 3, (speech composed for Nero by Seneca), etc. The *Meliboeus* of Calp. *Ecl.* I. and IV. is Seneca. The *Ilias Latina* seems to allude to the early years of Nero. Nero's *Troica*, on a theme not only national but specially connected with the Julian house from Caesar to Nero, shows marked resemblances to Seneca's *Troades*, and both the emperor's poem and Lucan's early *Iliaca* were probably inspired and encouraged by Seneca. The famous passage, Luc. IX. 980-986, is unintelligible if the poet is thinking merely of Julius Caesar; he must allude to Nero, his now jealous rival. The ascription of Pers. I. 99-102 to Nero is without real authority and is most improbable. P. Fossataro in notes on the text of *De optimo genere oratorum* discusses various passages with emendations by himself or others. S. Pellini publishes a codex found by himself at Soliera, near Modena, consisting of three leaves of 4 pages each, with about 300 lines of the *Curculio* of Plautus. The writing points to the beginning of the fifteenth century. P. gives a complete list of variant readings, taking as base the edition of Ritschl and Goetz, and concludes that the Soliera Codex is most nearly akin to the Codex Britannicus of the twelfth century, with which it agrees more than 100 times in 300 lines. P. quotes some of the most

important variants peculiar to this codex—about 200 in number—and adds a facsimile of a page. A. Parravicini enumerates and analyses the metric ‘prefaces’ of Claudian, written in elegiacs, whereas the poems which they introduce are in hexameters. These prefaces combined a real introduction with a special appeal to the benevolence of a courtly audience, allusions to patrons, or the Emperor. Ausonius, his contemporary, alludes to the example of Catullus’ dedication to Cornelius Nepos and P. discusses the origin of these ‘prefaces,’ concluding that they go back to drama, Claudian being original only in using a different metre and making them into a vehicle for conveying special meanings to his hearers and readers.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1914.

March 14. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Samter). The second edition has been thoroughly revised. H. Kaden, *Quaestionum ad Ciceronis Balbianam spectantium capita tria* (Klotz). Treats of the life of Balbus, the legal question, and some rhetorical points.

March 21. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Philipp). Very warmly praised. N. Schneider, *De verbi in lingua Latina collocatione* (Schmalz). A good study of the order of words in Caesar.

March 28. M. Wellmann, *A. Cornelius Celsus. Eine Quellenuntersuchung* (Kind). An important study in the history of medicine. W. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griech. Literatur*, bearb. von W. Schmid (K. F. W. Schmidt). Sixth edition of Teil I, enlarged to 771 pp. W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Swoboda). Highly praised.

April 4. Fr. Niedzballa, *De copia verborum et elocutione Promethei Vincti q. f. Aeschyleae* (Aly). In P. V. a peculiarly large number of words is found which do not occur in other Aeschylean plays. The reviewer, however, concludes that anyone who compares the three parts of the Oresteia will find no difficulty in assigning P. V. to Aeschylus. *Beschreibung römischer Altertümer*, gesammelt von C. A. Niessen (Barthel). Specially valuable for glass and pottery.

April 11. F. Windberg, *De Herodoti Scythiae et Libyae descriptione* (Philipp). G. Rauschen, *Tertulliani apologetici recensio nova*. Ed. II (Hoppe). Both text and notes are good. J. Handel, *De lingua communi in titulos Ionicos irrepente* (Kallenberg). Atticisms first appear in Ionic inscriptions in the second half of the fifth century, gain ground in the fourth, and almost drive out Ionic forms in the third. Max C. P. Schmidt, *Realistische Stoffe im humanistischen Unterricht* (Tittel). Third edition, much enlarged.

April 18. E. M. Walker, *The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia, its authorship and authority* (v. Mess). The reviewer considers W.’s study of great value, but does not agree with his conclusion that Ephorus is the author. L. Parmentier, *Recherches sur le traité d’Isis et d’Osiris de Plutarque* (Gruppe). Valuable for the history of religion. W. Holtschmidt, *De Culicis carminis sermone et de tempore quo scriptum sit* (Helm). A study of the vocabulary which in the opinion of the reviewer proves that Virgil was not the author. O. Kern, *Inscriptiones graecae* (Hiller v. Gaertringen). A good collection, showing the inscriptions as they appear on the actual monuments.

April 25. H. Fohl, *Tragische Kunst bei Herodot* (Nestle). Helps us to understand Hdt.’s conception of history. A. Steier, *Aristoteles und Plinius. Studien zur Geschichte der Zoologie* (Scharold). A scholarly book. W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (Richter). Useful to the specialist and at the same time a good introduction to the subject. E. Fraenkel, *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -τής, -τωρ, -της (-τ-)*. Zweiter Teil. Entwicklung und Verbreitung der Nomina im Attischen, Entstehung und Accentuation der Nomina auf -της (Schwyzer). Highly praised. There is a good index.

May 2. E. Kallós, *Noten und Exkurse zu Archilochos* [in Hungarian] (Láng). Contains much that is new and valuable. J. G. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality* (Gruppe). Makes some interesting criticisms. I. Schaefer, *De Ioue apud Caves culto* (Wide). Collects the evidence (literary, archaeological, and numismatic) for the different cults.

May 9. M. Dieulafoy, *La bataille d'Issus* (Lammert). A critical analysis of the MS. on the battle of the Issus presented to the French Academy by Commandant Bourgeois, in which he identifies the Pinarus with the Pajas. E. Windisch, *Das keltische Brittannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur* (Anthes). Good on the etymology of the proper names. On the history and archaeology the writer is unfamiliar with much recent work. M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen nach der Überlieferung des klassischen Altertums* (K. Fr. W. Schmidt). Excellent.

May 16. F. Wendorff, *Die aristokratischen Sprecher der Theognis-Sammlung* (Sitzler). Develops further the view set forth in his dissertation, 'Ex usu convivali Theognideam syllogen fluxisse demonstratur.' T. Hudson-Williams, *The Elegies of Theognis* (Sitzler). 'He has not observed that my edition appeared thirty-four years ago, and that since then my views have changed on many points.' O. Kraus, *Platons Hippias Minor. Versuch einer Erklärung* (Pavlu). S. H. Ballou, *De clausulis a Flavio Vopisco adhibitis* (Bitschowsky). H. Endres, *Die offiziellen Grundlagen der Alexander-überlieferung und das Werk des Ptolemäus* (Philipp).

May 23. A. E. Kalischek, *De Ephoro et Theopompo Isocratis discipulis* (Ammon). Car. Hosius, *M. Annaei Lucani belli civilis libri decem*, tertium ed. C. H. (Tolkiehn). For the new edition H. has collated the Montepessulanus and used Bick's revision of the Vienna palimpsest; he has added an Index grammaticus and an Index metricus. H. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum. Zweite Auflage* (Herrmann). Practically a new book; it now has 320 plates, 370 pp. of text. Warmly praised.

May 30. C. Clementi, *Bibliographical and other Studies on the Peruigilium Veneris* (Hosius). A useful piece of work. A. Rostagni, *Sull' autenticità dell' idillio VIII di Teocrito* (Sitzler). A thorough examination of the question, useful whether one agrees with the conclusion (that the poem is genuine) or not. G. Semeka, *Ptolemäisches Prozessrecht* (Beseler). E. Pais, *Storia critica di Roma. I.* (Soltau). Unfavourable. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (Gerland). Warmly praised.

Classical Weekly (New York). 1914.

March 7. (1) H. E. Butler, *Propertius with an English Translation*. (2) J. S. Phillimore, *Propertius Translated* (B. L. Ullman). 'P.'s translation is more faithful and gives a far better idea of Propertius's genius, while B.'s is much freer, and at the same time smoother and more even.'

March 14. F. Plessis, *Virgile: Les Bucoliques* (W. P. Mustard). The first instalment of a new edition of V. which is to replace that of Benoist. 'The commentary is clear and concise.'

March 28. J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome* (E. S. McCartney). 'Brings out the fact that the literature is but a reflection of the character of the people.'

April 4. (1) R. C. Seaton, *Apollonius Rhodius, the Argonautica, with an English Translation*; (2) G. W. Mooney, *The Argonautica of Apollonius, with Introduction and Commentary*. (1) 'An excellent translation, more accurate than the poetic but literal version of Way.' (2) 'A first-rate school-boy's edition.'

April 25. Fr. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (J. W. D. Ingersoll). 'Not a collection of monographs, but a coherently woven narrative.'

May 2. M. Niedermann, *Historische Lautlehre des Lateinischen. Zweite Auflage* (E. H. Sturtevant). 'The improvements are so numerous and important that this second German edition will prove more serviceable to American teachers than the English translation of the first (French) edition.'

May 9. C. L. Brown, *Latin Songs : Classical, Mediaeval and Modern, with Music*. Edited by C. L. B. (H. L. Cleasby). 'An attractive and comprehensive collection.'

May 16. Kirby Flower Smith, *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus : The Corpus Tibullianum* edited with Introduction and Notes on Books I, II, and IV 2-14 (B. L. Ullman). Warm praise. D. B. Durham, *The Vocabulary of Menander considered in its Relation to the κοινή* (E. H. Sturtevant). Examines the question, 'Did M. write Attic or Hellenistic Greek?' 'The result is a complete vindication; such variations from the norm as M. shows are due to the colloquial style of comedy rather than to non-Attic influence.'

May 23. C. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments* (W. N. Bates). 'His general plan is to translate passages in Pausanias as far as they concern the monuments and then to describe these monuments as fully as the extant remains and other evidence permit.'

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1914.

March 7. M. Wellmann, *A. Cornelius Celsus* (H. Westenberger). Celsus was merely the translator of a popular Greek hand-book, probably written by one Cassius, a physician of Tiberius. J. Geffcken, *Kaiser Julianus* (R. Asmus). Brings out strikingly the common atmosphere of the Hellenists and Christians of Julian's time.

March 21. C. Barwick, *De Platonis Phaedri temporibus* (W. Nestle). Places the *Phaidros* before the *Symposion*, and regards as its object the recommendation of Philosophy in preference to Rhetoric.

April 4. René Cirilli, *Les prêtres danseurs de Rome* (F. Geiger). Disappointing. L. Friese, *De praepositionum et pronominum usu qui est in titulis africanis latinis* (W. A. Baehrens). Shows good judgment.

April 11. W. Riezler, *Weissgründige attische Lekythen* (G. Karo). The most beautiful work on vases which we possess.

April 18. M. H. Swindler, *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* (N. M. P. Nillson). Disapproved.

May 2. W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik* (F. Hiller v. Gaertringen). A greatly enlarged and valuable section of Iwan v. Müller's *Handbuch*. M. A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (A. Grünwedel). Gives evidences of Hellenic art in Buddhist temples at Miran.

May 9. E. C. Quiggin, *Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by E. C. Q. (R. Helm). Calls special attention to Frazer's contribution. J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre* (O. Stählin). An introduction to a full collection of P.'s philosophical writings. B. traces the various influences to which P. was in turn exposed.

May 16. W. Schubert, *Ein Jahrtausend am Nil* (G. A. Gerhard). A selection of 100 Greek letters on papyrus to illustrate Greco-Egyptian history.

May 30. W. Norvin, *Olympiodori Philosophi in Platonis Phaedonem commentaria* ed. W. N. (H. Mutschmann). A continuation of collections necessary for the study of Neoplatonism.

Hermes. Vol. 49. Part 2. 1914.

F. Leo, *Die römische Poesie in der sullanischen Zeit*. A chapter that was to have formed part of the second volume of Leo's *History of Roman Literature*. F. Münzer, *Hortensius und Cicero bei historischen Studien*. A discussion of the historical work on the social war by Hortensius. H. Tiedke, *Zur Textkritik der Dionysiaka des Nonnos*. K. Witte, *Porsons Gesetz*. An attempt to bring P.'s law into relation with the caesura of the iambic trimeter. F. Blumenthal, *Auguria salutis*. A discussion of the inscrip-

tion recording the *auguria* between A.D. 1-17. A. Rosenberg, *Nochmals Aedilis Iustralis und die Sacra von Tusculum*. A criticism of Leuze's article in Part I. of this volume. W. Kolbe, *Der Zweite Triumvirat*. E. Lattes, *Per l'interpretazione del testo etrusco di Agrum*. H. Mutschmann, *Zur ersten Rede des Antiphon*. MISCELLEN. F. Vollmer, *Unbekannte Inschriften aus Trient*, from Cod. Mon. 967 of a collection of inscriptions made by Aventinus in 1515. Some contain Celtic names. One in modern Greek to Vincent de Montfort, 1486. A. Rehm, *Die Inschrift Milet III. n. 164*. C. Robert, *Zu Pindars VIII Paean*, Pap. Oxyrhync. V. 841, p. 65. A. von Blumenthal, *Hesiod, fr. 219*. P. Stengel, In Plut. *Kim.* 18 for ἀπετεμε read ἀνέτεμε, cf. Polyae. *Strateg.* iv. 20.

Mnemosyne. 41. 2.

J. van Wageningen, *Maniliana* (continued). Notes on text i. 631 to v. 495. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Plutarchi moralia annotationes criticae* (continued). Notes on text of the *de cohibenda ira*, *de tranquillitate animi*, *de fraterno amore*, with essays on Plutarch as a 'physician of souls.' P. H. Damsté, *Lectiones Valerianae* (continued). On text from v. 1. 7 to vi. 9. Ext. 7. W. Vollgraff, *Ad Sophoclis Indagatores* (continued). Notes mainly on text, and in particular, a disquisition to show the Nomin. Absol. construction is Greek: idem, *Ad Duridis Fr. XXXI.* (ap. Athen. 535 F.) τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ πόλος. τὸ πᾶν means the universe, and ὁ πόλος is a gloss. J. C. Naber S. A. fil. *Observatiunculae de iure Romano* (continued). CV., *De iudiciis in rem duplicibus*. Continues discussion, adducing evidence of old Saxon laws. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Tibulli elegiam libri secundi primam*. In Tibull. 2. 1. 58 read (with Waardenburg) *dux pecoris curtas auxerat hirtus opes*, but vv. 51-58 are to be rejected as an interpolation unworthy of the poet and destructive of the poem. F. Gavin, *De historia Apollonii Tyrii*. To show by close connections with Greek novelists that the story is a Latin version of a lost Greek original written at latest in the 3rd century A.D. Criticizes arguments of Klebs for a Latin original. J. J. Hartman, *Persiana*. Notes mainly on text.

Musée Belge. XVIII. 1. 1914.

A. Delatte, *Studies on Greek Magic*. An important article, copiously illustrated. The explanations of the magic formulae are ingenious and mostly convincing.

XVIII. 2.

Paul Graindor, *Kykladika*. The article discusses the art of Tenos, and identifies Telesinos the Athenian, who had executed an Asklepios for Delos, with Telesios, also of Athens, sculptor of the Poseidon-Amphitrite group at Tenos. J. Paris, *An Old Sun-Dial from the Piraeus*. It is interesting to note that the error is so slight as to be almost negligible. L. Laurand, *Biographical Notes on Cicero*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. XXXIII. 3. 1914.

J. Kromayer, *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Italiens im 2. und 1. Jahrhundert vor Chr.* A long and enlightening study: the social, economic and imperial conditions which fostered *latifundia*; efforts to check them by allotments; the failure of Ti. Gracchus; the extent of Caesar's Agrarian Law of 59; the new system of landlord and tenant shown in Pliny's letters, etc. Good use is made of the catalogues of holdings at Veleia and Placentia and at Beneventum. R. Helm, *Das 'Märchen' von Amor und Psyche*, argues elaborately and acutely, with severe criticisms of Reitzenstein, that the story is neither 'symbolical' nor based on a folk-tale, but the frivolous invention of a Hellenistic writer borrowing freely from mythology. F. Cramer, *Aufgaben der heutigen Ortsnamenforschung*. A review of the state of the science, with many illustrations, e.g., German names in -ich, French in -ac, come from Gallic -āc-, and are comparable to Latin place-names in -anum; German -weiler may come from Latin villare.

XXXIII. 4. 1914.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Neue lesbische Lyrik* (Oxyrhynchos-Papyri X). An elaborate discussion of substance, metre, and language of the new Alcaeus and Sappho. *The Marriage of Hector* (1232, col. 2) is not Sappho's: it was put last in Book II. as dubious, and introduced by a lost note (in the latter part of col. 1). Also some discussion of the Menander, Cicero, and Thucydides fragments, and of the Chrestomathy (1241), especially in its Alexandrian bearings. V. Gardthausen, *Wiedergefundene Originale historischer Inschriften des Altertums*. A survey of Greek inscriptions preserved both in originals and in literary citations, e.g. Thuc. VI. 54. 6, Hdt. V. 77.

XXXIII. 5. 1914.

M. Pohlenz, *Friedrich Leo*. A long and detailed appreciation of that scholar's work. W. Capelle, *Die Nilschwelle*. An extraordinarily learned and interesting account of ancient observation and theory about the rising of the Nile, examined in the light of modern knowledge. E. Bethe, *Die Einheit unserer Ilias*. 'A chapter from the book now appearing: *Homer, Dichtung und Sage*.' A defence of the unity of the *Iliad* from a broad analysis of its structure. Books B-H in particular are justified artistically. But detailed analysis may yet force us to the conclusion that the poet incorporated older poems.

Philologus. LXXIII. Heft 1. 1914.

M. Boas, *Die Sylloge Rufiniana*. Discusses the source of the Rufinus epigram in A. P. V. 1-101. 1 (to be assigned to Rufinus) and 102 were originally the first and last poems in a 'Sylloge Rufiniana.' Cephalas used this as he used Straton's collection in XII. Results for Rufinus' date. J. Baunack, *Hesychiana* III. Twenty-five more glosses from Hesychius (ἀλεβεβάν—ἐπετρον) emended and explained. A. Berger, *Streifzüge durch das röm. Sklavenrecht*. A long article in three parts dealing with inheritance, *donatio*, etc., in case of the *servus fructuarius* and *dotalis*. G. Kafka, *Zu J. Adams Erklärung der Platonischen Zahl*. A new review of the problem based on Adam, with one or two corrections. Th. O. H. Achelis, *De Aristophanis Byzantii argumentis fabularum* III. Discusses a large number of miscellaneous points, e.g., mention of choregi and actors, bibliographical information, and literary criticism contained in the arguments, the difference between ὑπόθεσις and κεφάλαιον, etc. Finally gives a list of arguments that may reasonably be assigned to Aristophanes. A. Müller, *Zur Verwendung der Musik im römischen Heere*. Disputes the view recently advanced, that music was used exclusively for signalling purposes, and cites passages where march tunes seem to be mentioned. K. Lincke, Aeneas Tacticus 40. 2. Read τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει instead of τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν μὲν (Hercher's emendation). G. Esau, *Zu dem lat.-griech.-köpt. Gesprächsbuch (Klio XIII)*. Alters *signatus* et to *signatam*. et, comparing Colloquium Montepessulanum. L. Steinberger, *Zur Tabula Peutingeriana*. Identifies Coveliacas of the Tabula with Cavaglià, near Vercelli. W. Anderson, *Die Meleagrossage bei den Tschuwaschen*. A contemporary version current among this Turco-Tartar tribe.

Revue des Études grecques. XXVI. Nos. 118, 119.

F. Greif, *Studies on Ancient Music*. An elaborate article criticising the views of Hermann, Rosbach, and Westphal. A. Reinach, *Macedonian Trophies*. It is generally admitted that the Macedonians were the only Greeks who did not raise trophies. The writer examines the origin and change of this custom. A. de Ridder, *Archaeological Report*. An article of 40 pp., covering a wide field of the most recent discoveries.

Rheinisches Museum. 69. 2. 1914.

B. Schmidt, *Die Lebenszeit Catulls und die Herausgabe seiner Gedichte*. Jerome's date for Catullus' birth and death may be disregarded. From the evidence of the poems, etc., the most likely dates are 82-52 B.C. Catullus published at least two collections of poems. C. 1 is introduction to the first of these. The collection we have was made and arranged after his death. F. Rühl, *Die Interpolationen in Prokops Anekdoten*. The Anekdoten is not a contamination as Ranke would have it, but is a work by Procopius with well-defined interpolations (c. 12, 14-13, 1: c. 18, 1-2: c. 12, 17: c. 18: c. 30, 34). The passage 20, 16 sqq. is no proof against Haury's theory that the thirty-two years of misfortune are dated from the accession of Justin I. P. Friedländer, *Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Heldensage*. I. *Argonautensage*. The motives come from diverse places and are woven into an epic in Asia Minor under Milesian influence. To this is added a beginning and an end at Corinth. In this form the saga then appears in Euneus. The saga was not made poetry in Thessaly because Jason is Thessalian. To suppose that is a fault in method. II. *Der Krieg um Theben*. A finished epos of Thebes is presupposed by the Homeric poems. This epos is not the work of Boeotia, but of the poetic inspiration of Asia Minor. *Anhang zur Alkmaionis*. More belonged to this than Bethe in his *Heldenlieder* will allow. Bethe's 'Ἀμφιαρόν ἐξελασία does not exist. The Alkmaionis belongs to Corinthian poetry and is not earlier than 600 B.C. III. Οἶχα-λίας ἄλωσις. States more clearly the argument of *Phil. Unters.* XIX. ch. iii. The deeds of Heracles, which must belong to this saga, were most probably worked up into an Epic in Samos, not in Aetolia, as Bethe would have it. Th. Birt, *ἄγνωστοι θεοὶ und die Areopagrede des Apostels Paulus*. Seeks to show that the altars of ἄγνωστοι θεοὶ bore only the inscription θεῶ or θεοῖς, sometimes ΘΕΟΙ, which was for θεῶ, but might be read θεοί. They were ἄγνωστοι only on the lips of ciceroni or guide-book writers. Hence there is no reason to postulate Gnostic influence. The ἄγνωστος θεός of the Gnostics belonged to dogma and esoteric teaching, not to cult. The speech, then, is not the child of the Gnosis, nor is it the words Paul spoke. It is an artistically-composed speech, using the teaching of the Stoa to convert the Stoics, composed about 100 A.D. The speeches which Norden compares with it are not its model, but are, like it, based on models which were common property already. The attitude of the Acts to the Roman government and to the Jews fits the time of Trajan better than that of Hadrian. F. Jacoby, *Drei Gedichte des Propertius*. Analyses and discussion of 1. 9 (to be concluded). MISZELLEN. W. Aly, *Zu Aeschylus Prometheus*, v. 480. Read πασσόν (cf. Theocr. 11. 2). H. Mutschmann, *Sext. Emp.* Adv. log. 1. 339 (p. 263. 19 Bekk.) on text. G. Mercati, *Un codice non riconosciuto dello Ps-Filopono sull' Isagoge di Porfirio*: namely, ff. 1-19, Cod. Vatic. gr. 309. A. Klotz, *Cic. Phil.* 11. 64. For *infelix* or *hostis* read *infensus*, which explains variant. E. Bickel, *Zum christliche Fischsymbol*. Read *accipencerem* (late Latin form of *acipenserem*) for MSS. *accipiens acrem*: the fish of the gourmet set against the ΙΧΘΥΣ symbol of Christ. *Zu Manil.* 1. 285. For *ei* read *aerei*: *fricticulae* means 'baked' bread or fish. V. Gardthausen, *ὄξύρυγχος und ὄξυγράφος*. Criticism of Mentz' theory (*Rh. M.* 68, p. 610). A. Brinckmann, *Lückenbüsser*. 13. On the fire on the Lycian Olympus. 14. On the text of Methodius on St. Nikolaos.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Vol. 42. No. 2. 1914.

S. Consoli, *Juvenal's Second Satire in the Literary Tradition to the end of the Middle Ages*. Collection of quotations and references in late and medieval Latin writers to the close of the 14th century. V. Costanzi, *The Relations between the Aurunci and Rome*. Sceptical examination of the traditional account of the events of 504, 345, and 314. F. Stabile, *Studies on the Text of the Rule of S. Benedict*. On the number of

the chapters and on their headings and on points of vocabulary (e.g. *occasio*, 'motive') and grammar. F. Garin gives from a Florentine MS. Notes of A. Politian's Lectures on Theocritus in the 'Studio Fiorentino,' 1482-3. The notes, which are almost entirely confined to the first seven idylls, are of a superficial character. C. Cessi argues that in the Scholium on Ap. Rhod. 4. 1141 a real poem of Philetas on the Mysian Telephus is referred to. J. E. Harry, *Philoctetes Inermis*. On Soph. *Phil.* 1153-5. A. Beltrami, *Eur. Hipp.* 468 sq. A. Cosattini, *Notes on Aeschylus*. In *Cho.* 59 sqq. 1. ἐπισκορεῖ with τοῖς μέν. P. Rasi disputes *inunctis* in sense of 'non unctis' in Hor. S. I. 3. 25. P. Bellezza illustrates this paradox of expression ('enantiosemy') from several languages. L. Valmaggi in *Orthographical Trifles* points out that the arbitrary way in which the scribe of the Brussels MS. (10847) alters the spelling of the Paris MS., of which it is otherwise a faithful copy, is significant of the habits of copyists. U. Moricca, *On the πλοῖον ἢ εὐχαί of Lucian*. On the purpose of this work (a satire on the extravagance of human desires, with no special reference, e.g., to Alexander) and its composition.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1914.

Mar. 9. L. Mitteis und U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I. 1, 2; II. 1, 2 (Helbing). These are the historical and juristic parts. K. Burk, *De Chionis epistulis* (Helbing). The writer was a pupil of Plato. Th. Steinwender, *Die römische Taktik zur Zeit der Manipularstellung* (R. Oehler). R. B. Steele, *Case usage in Livy*. IV. *The ablative* (H. Blase).

March 16. E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (C. Fries). H. W. Litchfield, *Cicero's Judgment of Lucretius* (F. Harder). L.'s interpretation declined. A. Kurfess, *De Sallustii in Ciceronem et inuicem inuictiuis* (Th. Stangl). 'Thoroughly satisfactory.'

March 23. F. Baumgarten, F. Poland, R. Wagner, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (Liebenam). 'No less excellent than the *Hellenische Kultur*.' Th. Birt, *Römische Charakterköpfe* (H. Philipp). A kind of Roman history by biographies.

March 30. Windberg, *De Herodoti Scythiae et Libyae descriptione* (E. Juhre). F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning* (E. Hohl). 'Gives a clear account.' W. Gerhäuser, *Der Protrepikos des Poseidonios* (H. Mutschmann). 'The foundation for all further research.'

April 6. A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* (K. Wagner). 'Most strongly to be recommended.' A. Müller, *Ästhetischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien des Sophokles* (F. Adami). *Theban Ostraca*: I. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Texts*; II. H. Thompson, *Demotic Texts*; III. G. Milne, *Greek Texts*; IV. H. Thompson, *Coptic Texts* (A. Wiedemann). 'Done with great care.'

April 13. N. Wecklein, *Über Missverständnisse älterer Wendungen und Ausdrücke bei den griechischen Dichtern, insbesondere bei den Tragikern* (J. Sitzler). A. Ruppel, *Konzeption und Ausarbeitung der Aristophanischen Komödien* (E. Wüst). Not all the conclusions correct. C. H. Haile, *The Clown in Greek Literature after Aristophanes* (E. Wüst). The βωμολόχος is restricted to the old comedy.

April 20. L. H. Galiart, *Beiträge zur Mythologie bei Bakchylides* (H. Steuding). On the Meleager legend, the Heracles-Deianeira legend, and the Zeus-Io legend. G. de Sanctis, *'Ατθίς. Storia della repubblica ateniese dalle origini alla età di Pericle*. 2. ed. (F. Cauer) I.

April 27. K. Brugmann, *Vergleichende Laut-, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre nebst Lehre vom Gebrauch der Wortformen der indogermanischen Sprachen*. II. *Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem Gebrauch*. 3 Teil, 1 Lief. (G. Güntert). E. Michon, *Un décret du dème de Cholargos relatif aux Thesmophories* (W. Larfeld). G. de Sanctis, *'Ατθίς. Storia della repubblica ateniese dalle origini alla età di Pericle* 2. ed. (F. Cauer) II.

May 4. P. Masqueray, *Bibliographie pratique de la littérature grecque des origines à la fin de la période Romaine* (R. Wagner). 'An ever valuable work.' A. Clausen, *Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse im Altertum* (Chr. Harder). J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire* (M. Gelzer). 'A pity that what is right and reasonable in the book will not be fully appreciated owing to its defects.'

May 11. Schneidewin and Nauck, *Sophokles*, erkl. von S. und N. 5. Bändchen. *Elektra*. 10. Aufl. Von E. Bruhn (F. Adami). R. Nisard, *Le problème des Bacchantes d'Euripide* (K. Busche). Directed against the views of Norwood and Verrall. W. Köhler, *Die Versbrechung bei den griechischen Tragikern* (Reinert). Th. Birt, *Praefatio zu Propertii codex Guelferbytanus phototypice editus* (G. Friedrich). 'A model introduction.'

May 18. *Greek Literature. A Series of Lectures delivered at Columbia University* (R. Wagner). Lectures by P. Shorey, H. W. Smyth, E. D. Perry, J. R. Wheeler, E. Capps. J. Petri, *Poetische Dokumente griechischen Lebens und Denkens* (R. Wagner). 'The work of an expert.' C. Morawski, *De contentione litterariis apud Romanos, imprimis apud Ciceronem* (W. Isleib).

May 25. F. M. Benet, *Religious Cults associated with the Amazons* (H. Steuding). 'A rich collection of material.' S. Kriegbaum, *Der Ursprung der von Kallikles in Platons Gorgias vertretenen Anschauungen* (H. Gillischewski). E. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics* (M. Dibelius). 'Impressionist in the best sense.'

June 1. F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (W. Schonack). 'Will find many readers in Germany.' F. Strenger, *Strabos Erdkunde von Libyen* (H. Philipp). L. Volkmann, *T. Lucretius Carus, der Jünger Epikurs* (J. Tolkiehn).

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. VI. Band, 1 Heft. 1914.

M. Lambert, *The Etymology of δοῦλος*, which the writer regards as a word borrowed by the Greeks from the non-Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor. Witkowski, *Contributions to Greek Syntax*, rejects the 'prescriptive' optative proposed by Delbrück and accepted by Brugmann, regards λάβε γούνων and the like as a partitive genitive (against Brugmann-Thumb, who treat it as a variety of *gen. loci*); the genitive after ἄρχω depends on the implied substantive (I am ruler of) and should not be taken as an adverbial genitive with Brugmann-Hirst; sections on the genitive after οὐ, μετα- to denote change, and parataxis in Homer. R. Methner in a long article deals with *The Development of the Qualitative Ablative*, which he derives from (1) an instrumental of the accompanying circumstances, (2) enallage of an adjective with an ablative of limitation, e.g., *uir magno ingenio* originated in *uir magnus ingenio*. A. Sonny, *Demonstratives as Indefinites*; e.g. σήμερον ἢ αὐριον πορευσόμεθα εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, Epist. Jac. 4. 13; 'expers consilii, inquires, haec atque illa temptans,' Sall. or. Phil. II. Persson on Latin u in Unaccented Open Syllables.

Indogermanische Forschungen. XXXIII. Band, 3, 4 Heft.

W. Frhr. v. Osten-Sacken contributes a series of comments on Walde's *Lat. Etymologisches Wörterbuch* chiefly with reference to parallels in the Slavonic languages. V. Grienberger discusses in detail the text and exposition of the Old Latin inscription from Lucera. Thumb once again defends Late Laconian against the oft-repeated charge of artificial origin. Brugmann on Greek Desideratives in -σειων and κείων, ὀψείοντες = ὄψει ἴοντες, κείοντες = κε[ι]ῖ ἴοντες; οἱ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος (Il. I. 606), 'they went home, occupying their thoughts with lying down,' κει- being an instrumental or local dative.

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ON CERTAIN FRAGMENTS OF PINDAR.

THE Fragments of Pindar have not, so far as I know, been adequately discussed since the great editions of Boeckh and Dissen, and as many of them are extremely important, the following remarks are offered in the hope of turning the attention of scholars in their direction.

Fr. 172¹ interests us, first, since it mentions Peleus and not Telamon as the comrade of Heracles in his attack on Troy. But a second and more interesting feature of this Fragment is the fact, which has, I believe, not been noticed by other students, that this is probably from the same poem as *Fr.* 227 and seems to follow it directly. Putting the two together, we have one of the longest Fragments of Pindar. The rhythm, it will be noticed, is the same—the dactylo-epitritic. The continuous line of thought thus developed is quite in the manner of Pindar, who often states a general principle and then follows it with a well-known example, which fixes the principle in mind. So *O.* 1, 36 sqq., the poet says, ‘In truth it is meet for a man to speak (only) what is honourable concerning the gods, for less is the blame. And touching thee, O son of Tantalus, I will speak at variance with earlier bards. How, when thy father had bidden them to that most lawful feast, offering to the gods a banquet in requital of theirs.’ *O.* 2, 23 sqq., ‘When the fate of the gods sends high prosperity to be uppermost again. This saying suits the fair-throned daughters of Cadmus,’ etc. So *O.* 7, 26 sqq.; *O.* 9, 28 sqq.; *P.* 3, 54 sqq.; and passim. Our own case is much like these. ‘The thoughts of young men, if revolved with toil, find glory. And their deeds, in time, are bathed in light, shining up into the midst of the aether. . . . Did not the youth of god-like Peleus shine, by reason of his countless toils? First with the son of Alcmena, etc.’ And the perfect harmony of the rhythm of the two Fragments will be apparent on reading them consecutively. It will be observed that a trochee is lacking at the beginning of *Fr.* 227. I would suggest inserting the word αἰψα, which suits admirably both meter and sense. Compare *P.* 4, 133, αἰψα δ’ ἀπὸ

¹ The Fragments are cited according to Christ in his large edition.

κλισιᾶν ὄρτο. It is noticeable that Pindar makes Peleus the companion of Heracles on that famous expedition, as mentioned before, instead of Telamon, as in the more common version of the story. The usual form also is found in Pindar, *N.* 4, 25; *I.* 6, 27; *Fr.* 50, 51, and often in Greek literature. But Peleus is a favourite hero with Pindar, who never tires of singing of the glories of his august marriage with Harmonia, daughter of Ares, when 'The gods did join in the feast, and the happy pair beheld the sons of Kronos as kings on golden thrones, and received their bridal gifts,' *P.* 3, 93 sqq. The compound word ἐπέλαμψεν in 172, 1, is an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in Pindar, though the simple word λάμπω occurs no less than five or six times in the poems which are preserved, in accordance with Pindar's predilection for ideas of brilliancy and splendour.

In *Fr.* 177, 4, we notice a metrical peculiarity which calls for some remark. The verse reads αἰνιγμα παρθένου ἐξ ἀγριᾶν γνάθων. The diphthong -ου in παρθένου is thus scanned as long, in spite of the initial vowel in the following word. This is exceptional, since it occurs but five times in the whole range of Greek Melic poetry. And four out of these five cases are genitives of the second declension where the termination can easily be emended to -οί', the elided form of the older genitive ending in -οιο. If, therefore, we read here παρθένοι' instead of παρθένου, we secure metrical regularity. The ending -οιο is well attested in *O.* 13, 35 and *P.* 1, 39, these two cases proving that Pindar, unlike Homer, does not hesitate to elide the final vowel of the termination -οιο. The elided -οιο has been restored by conjecture by Ahrens in *N.* 9, 55, and by Mommsen in *I.* 1, 16, and both emendations are generally accepted. The same emendation is easily made in *Fr.* 84 of Simonides, for the same reason as here. Let me make it clear why this emendation seems to be called for. A long vowel at the end of a word before a word beginning with a vowel is *not* usually shortened in cases where elision has already taken place, the sacrifice of a short vowel apparently satisfying the poet's ear. It is worth remarking that if we accept this slight emendation there remains but one abnormal case in Greek Melic poetry, in Pratinas 1, 15, ἦν ἰδού· ἄδε σοι δεξιά, and in this case the sense pause after ἰδού clearly makes the hiatus unobjectionable.

Fr. 169 is preserved to us by Plato. In the brilliant speech of Callicles, in the *Gorgias* 484 B, in which that sophist argues that might makes right, he says, 'In my opinion Pindar sustains what I assert, in the poem in which he says, "Law, king of all, both mortal and immortal, makes use of the utmost violence with overweening hand, and calls it just. I infer this from the deeds of Heracles, since he drove off the oxen of Geryon to the Cyclopean porticoes of Eurystheus, without buying them or asking for them."' (It is worthy of note that Plato recurs again to Geryon, in Book VII. of the *Laws*, 795 C, where he couples him with the other monster, Briareus, as illustrating the principle that the warriors in his commonwealth must be able to use both hands alike.) This Geryon, or Geryoneus, is a little known mythological figure. Most of us learned of him first in the well-known passage in the

Agamemnon of Aeschylus, where Clytemnestra, in her hypocritical speech of welcome to the returning husband whom she is plotting to kill, refers to the many griefs and anxieties which she has had to endure during his long absence, and says (857-862) in Headlam's version :

' Wounds ! if my lord had got as many wounds
As rumour channeling to us homeward gave him,
He had been more riddled than a net with holes.
Or had his deaths but tallied with all tales,
He might have been a second Geryon,
Three-bodied, with a triple coverture
Of earth above to boast him.'

We learn at once from this quotation of the most striking peculiarity of Geryon, viz., that he was triple-bodied. Pindar mentions him again in *I.* 1, 13, where he says of Heracles that ' Even the fierce hounds of Geryon trembled before him.' And in *Fr.* 81 we read, ' Thee, O Geryon, I praise in comparison with him. For it is not fitting, when one's possessions are being robbed, to sit at one's hearth and be a coward,' which seems to refer once more to the struggle with Heracles.

We are indebted to Stesichorus for further information about this mythological personage. In the third book of Strabo, 148, 11, we read, ' Stesichorus speaks thus about the herdsman Geryoneus, that he was born beside the silver spring of the river Tartessus, close opposite famous Erytheia, in a vault of the rock.' The Tartessus river is the river Baetis, or Guadalquivir, in Andalusia, so that Geryoneus is thus located in the far west, and Stesichorus, as a Sicilian poet, would be specially familiar with his history. The name, Geryoneus, is evidently derived from γηρύω, so that it would signify the ' Roarer.' Stesichorus, in the poem quoted, goes on to the effect that Helios Hyperion embarked upon his golden cup that he might cross the ocean to the depths of the sacred dark night, and to his wedded wife and his dear children. This shows that the island of Erytheia (reddish) is situated in the far west, glowing in the rays of the setting sun. But the real *locus classicus* for Geryoneus is the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus 2, 5, 10, where the story of the monster is told clearly and intelligibly. As his tenth labour, Heracles was ordered to bring the cattle of Geryoneus from Erytheia. The latter was an island near the ocean, which is now called Gadeira. This island was occupied by Geryoneus, the son of Chrysaor and Callirhoe, daughter of Oceanus (the same genealogy is given by Hesiod, *Theog.* 287 sqq.), and Geryoneus had the bodies of three men, grown together into one at the belly, but divided into three at the flanks and thighs. Geryoneus had a herd of dun cattle, which were herded by Eurytion, and guarded by the two-headed dog Orthros, son of Echidne and Typhon (and therefore brother of the delectable Cerberus). So journeying after the cattle of Geryoneus, and crossing many wild regions and arriving in Erytheia, he camped on Mt. Abas. The dog of Geryoneus perceived him and attacked him. Heracles struck him with his club, and when

the herdsman Eurytion came to support the dog, Heracles slew him. And Geryoneus finding Heracles at the river Anthemus, driving away his cattle, joined battle with him, and was slain by an arrow-shot. And Heracles put the cattle into the cup of Helios and sailed across to Tartessus, after which he gave the cup back to Helios. And so, after many adventures, he brought the cattle safely to Eurystheus.

The character of Geryon seems to have been taken up by the comic poets as typical of the stupid giant who is the predestined victim of the clever giant-killer. His size and limitless voracity must have hugely amused the gallery-gods of the Dionysiac Theatre, as well as the provincial stage.

Athenaeus, in the eighth book of his *Deipnosophists*, 346, cites a fragment of the Geryoneus of the comic poet Ehippus, where the monster is a gigantic king to whom the world is subject. His subjects catch a fish larger than the island of Crete, for which the monarch possesses a kettle of corresponding size, the rim of which is inhabited by Sindians, Lycians, Macedonians, and Paphians, whose duty it is to provide wood, as well as water and salt, for the cooking of their catch. Five boats ply around the edge of the kettle, and exhort the labourers, 'Why don't you kindle the fire? It is cold'; and to the Celts and Macedonians in their turn, 'Stop blowing your bellows, Macedonian. Put out the fire, you Celt, lest you burn the fish.' The awkward figure of the monster no doubt made him a favourite character upon the comic stage.

In the fifth century of our era the Homeric imitator, Quintus Smyrnaeus, does not forget Geryon. In emulation of Homer's description of the shield of Achilles, in *Iliad* 18, Smyrnaeus (6, 196 *b*) depicts the shield of Eurypylus as ornamented with representations of the labours of Heracles, beginning with his throttling the two serpents sent by Hera to destroy the hero in his infancy, with traces of the scene as described by Pindar in *N.* 1. Then follows the Nemean lion, the Lernean hydra, the Erymanthian boar, the Stymphalian birds, the Augean stables, and the cattle of Geryon, following in general the order of Apollodorus. Quintus, imitating the Homeric style, tells us that thereon (on the shield of Eurypylus) was the form of Geryon, dead among his cattle, his bloody head subdued by the mighty club. In front of Geryon was slain his dog, Orthros, resembling his brother Cerberus, as well as the body of Geryon's herdsman, Eurytion.

I have dwelt a little longer upon the history of Geryon because he is a little-known mythological figure, a representative, apparently, of the rude forces of nature, which it seems to have been the special mission of the hero Heracles to subdue, and thus to tame the earth and render it habitable by man—a mission which is expressed by Pindar, *N.* 1, 62 sqq., where the seer Teiresias prophesies to the hero's father and mother, after their infant son had slain the two serpents, 'how many lawless beasts he should slay on land, and how many in the deep. And many a *man*, too, who walked with crooked insolence, he should give over to hateful death.' The encounter with Geryon is a typical case of this activity of Heracles, behind which the special features

enlarged upon by Callicles in the *Gorgias* of the violence done to Geryon sink into the background.

Fr. 235 contains a usage that may be unfamiliar to some. It begins ἐρεθίζομαι ἀλίου δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν followed by a relative, leaving ὑπόκρισιν entirely without an apparent connection. The rest of the Fragment states how the dolphin of the sea is excited by the sound of the flute, in accordance with the familiar conception of the dolphin as a musical animal. ὑπόκρισιν means strictly an answer, as we remember that the actor in tragedy was called ὑποκρίτης, 'the man who answers' the leader of the chorus, and so made the beginning of dialogue. When we endeavour to ascertain the meaning of ἐρεθίζομαι δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν, we are reminded of the familiar construction of χάριν and certain other accusatives in an adverbial or prepositional sense and governing the genitive. This construction probably developed from a free use of the accusative as inner object, in apposition with a clause. Thus, in *I.* 3, 7, we have εὐκλέων δ' ἔργων ἄποινα χρὴ μὲν ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἐσλόν. 'We ought to hymn the brave man in recompense for his noble deeds.' Here ἔργων ἄποινα is in apposition with the clause ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἐσλόν. So with χάριν in *P.* 11, 12; *N.* 1, 4 sqq. In *P.* 3, 95 Διὸς δὲ χάριν, the transition to an adverb in χάριν is somewhat further advanced, and we are inclined to translate with Gildersleeve, 'Thanks to Zeus.' But the nucleus of the clause with which χάριν is in apposition is still an accusative καρδίαν, and therefore the appositional force can still be vaguely felt. Yet χάριν has practically become a preposition governing the genitive, Διὸς δὲ χάριν, 'Thanks be to Zeus.' This usage is perhaps more frequent with χάριν than with any other accusative, but in *N.* 11, 16 we have τελευτάν used in the same way, τελευτὰν ἀπάντων γᾶν ἐπιεσσόμενος. 'As the end of all things he will be clothed in earth'—i.e. he will lie in the grave. Here τελευτάν is in apposition with the clause γᾶν ἐπιεσσόμενος, but takes its case from γᾶν. So in *P.* 2, 84, λύκοιο δίκαν, 'after the manner of a wolf.' The prepositional force of χάριν and δίκην is found widely in Greek literature, nor is it confined to poetry. But the case of ὑπόκρισιν in the present Fragment is, so far as I know, unparalleled in Greek. There is a like example of this tendency to extend the adverbialization of accusatives in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, 338, τοῦ δ' ἔφεξιν ᾧ μάταιε, ταῦτα δρᾶν σε βούλεται; where Graves says from the scholiast 'with what pretext, from ἐπέχω, "to put forward," as in ἐπισχεσίην in *Od.* 21, 71, where the word means pretext.' This use of an accusative in apposition with the sentence or some part of it in a sense which closely approximates to an adverb or preposition is probably not sufficiently frequent to call for more conspicuous mention in our grammars, but it is at least a noticeable syntactical freedom.

E. B. CLAPP.

VINDICIAE PLATONICAE I.

As the plan of the Oxford *Bibliotheca* does not allow an editor to justify his treatment of a text in detail, it is inevitable that misunderstandings should arise, and I see that even a competent Platonic scholar like C. Ritter has missed the point more than once in his recent *Bericht* (*Jahresber. für Altertumsw.*, Vol. CLVII., 1912, 1). I make no complaint of that—it was inevitable—but I feel bound to put on record my views on at least the more important problems suggested by the text. First, however, I must say something about the MSS. and the use which I have made of them.

I suppose we have all by this time got over the superstition of ‘the best MS.,’ which played such havoc with K. F. Hermann’s text of Plato by leading him to prefer the most arbitrary conjectures based on the blunders and omissions of B (the Clarke MS.) to perfectly sound readings found in most other MSS. Even Schanz’s original text of the first tetralogy is seriously marred by the unique position he at one time assigned to this MS., but it must not be forgotten that he changed his opinion at a later date, and that he has since then re-edited the *Euthyphro*, *Apology*, and *Crito*, on a much sounder basis. Even if there were nothing else, the lacuna at *Theaet.* 208d, 4 Πάνν μὲν οὖν . . . 209a, 2 λόγον would prove the point. There nineteen lines of printed text are omitted by B, and have to be supplied from other sources, and it is obvious that what has happened here on a large scale may have happened elsewhere on a smaller one. It is now admitted, accordingly, by everyone that the archetype of the second family, the oldest of the Plato MSS. at Venice (T), must be regarded as co-ordinate with B. Following a hint by Jordan (*De cod. plat. auctoritate*, p. 629), M. Henri Alline has recently insisted¹ on the fact that T really represents a form of the text older than B, and I think I can add something to the proofs he has given. No one would ever guess from the printed editions that there are two quite distinct sets of scholia to Plato, but an inspection of the Leyden photographic reproduction of B, and a comparison of its margin with Schanz’s collation of the scholia contained in T (*Platocodex*, pp. 6 sqq.) will enable anyone to control my statement that the original scholia of B are quite different from those of T,² and a study of their contents

¹ *L’histoire et la critique du texte platonicien* (*Rev. de philologie*, 1910, pp. 251 sqq.). I can recommend this article as the clearest statement of the problem to be found anywhere.

² In his edition, K. F. Hermann designates all

the scholia which he found in B as O, to distinguish them from those he found in Ruhnken (R). The fact is, however, that the scholia common to B and other MSS. are regularly added by a later hand.

will show further that they are of quite another character. I have no doubt that they are the work of Arethas, who wished to replace the mainly lexicological scholia of the archetype by biographical notes and extracts from commentators like Proclus and Hermeias. Now the chief MS. of the second part of Plato (Par. A.) contains the old scholia and not what I may call Arethas-scholia, from which it follows that TA give us a text quite independent of B, and incidentally that Cobet and his followers, who rejected all MSS. but BA, were in fact basing the text of the first six tetralogies on a different foundation from that of the eighth and ninth. It has been said, and M. Alline repeats the remark (p. 272), that T is a copy of the lost first volume of A, but that is not so. It is true that in the portion of Plato which is common to A and T (*Rep.* i.-iii., 389d) we have a practically identical text, but the long scholium on *μάλα σαρδάνιον* (337a) is much more fully given in T than in A. Accordingly, T is not derived from A, but is co-ordinate with it (though later in date), and T and A together give us a recension which is older than the text of B. For reasons which we shall come to later, they probably represent a *διόρθωσις* made for Photios.

If we confine ourselves to the readings of the first hand, that of John the Calligrapher, I cannot see any ground for holding that B represents a further recension, and here I feel bound to differ from M. Alline and other recent writers. It appears to me that everything can be explained if we regard B and T as two copies of the same text, the writers of which are apt to make mistakes of a different kind. B, as a calligrapher, copies letter by letter without regard to the sense. That accounts for his frequent omissions, and also for the fact that he often writes nonsense. His superior accuracy in certain respects is due to the same cause. T writes more hastily, and he often alters the order of the words because he is thinking of the sense rather than of the letters. We know that, because he often adds the signs of transposition himself. I hold, therefore, that B is not a recensed text except in the sense that it follows the same recension that T does. There is, however, a recension or *διόρθωσις* of the text in the MS. itself by another hand (B²), which is generally held to be that of Arethas,¹ and is at any rate that of someone acting under his instructions. Of course, Arethas must have known all about those puzzling things, the *διόρθωσις* of Leon and 'the Patriarch's book,' mentioned in certain scholia to the *Laws*,² and he must have had good reasons for taking his corrections from the source he did. Now, as a rule, these corrections agree with the text of W, so that Arethas must have regarded the original of that MS. as in some sense the standard text, and in that case W represents for us an even older tradition than BT. I cannot agree, however, with O. Immisch,

¹ This is doubted by Mr. T. W. Allen in his *Introduction* to the Leyden photographic reproduction. One of his points falls to the ground, however, if we regard Arethas as himself the author of the scholia, which are not derived from

the archetype. In that case, he may well have written them in the margin himself.

² The importance of these references has been justly emphasized by O. Immisch, *Philol. Stud.*, I. p. 49 sq.

from whom we have all learnt so much about these matters, in identifying this tradition with some branch of the *memoria non recensita*, and in classing W along with Vind. F, which does represent something of the sort. On the contrary, it seems to me that the original of W deserves the name of a recension far more than that of B and T. It certainly had a far larger number of marginal variants and it had the old scholia. I should not be surprised, indeed, if W should prove to be a direct copy of 'the Patriarch's book,' nor even if that should prove to have come from the Academy. When Justinian closed the school in 529 A.D., it would be natural that some of its MSS. should find their way to the Patriarchate. I shall return to this point later; but I may suggest now that this assumption would at once explain the fact that the recently discovered *Commentary on the Theaetetus* (second century A.D.) has so many points of agreement with W. A full discussion of this question must be postponed, however, till we have dealt with the details which have a bearing upon it. I propose to take the dialogues in order, and to deal chiefly with those passages which have been unnecessarily tampered with by editors.

Euthyphro.

2a, 5. ὁ Εὐθύφρων.

It is clear that this form stood in the archetype of BT, though B² (Arethas?) has corrected it to ὁ Εὐθύφρων in accordance with grammatical precept, and W fluctuates. Just so, in *Soph. Ant.* 572 the Laurentian MS. has ὁ φίλταθ' Αἴμων, and in *Ai.* 903 ὁ ταλαίφρων γύναι. In such cases, an editor's duty is to reproduce the best tradition, not to follow what may be only an arbitrary canon.

3a, 1. τοὺς τῶν νέων τὰς βλάστας διαφθείροντας.

Schanz follows Gomperz in deleting τῶν νέων, but Adam rightly declines to follow him. I do not think, however, that we should understand the words to mean 'the development or "sprouting" of the young.' The young are the crop, and their βλάσται are the 'sprouts.' The phrase will be seen to be correct if we remember that we could say, e.g., τοὺς τῶν πυρῶν τὰς βλάστας διαφθείροντας.

3e, 2. εἰ δὲ σπουδάζονται. . . .

The σπουδάζοντας of B is a characteristic blunder, which B² has corrected. Its recurrence in CD only proves the dependence of those MSS. on B. There can be no doubt that TW give the genuine tradition.

4a, 12. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαί γε τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος [ὀρθῶς] αὐτὸ πράξαι.

My deletion of ὀρθῶς (which I assume to have been erroneously repeated from ὅπη ποτὲ ὀρθῶς ἔχει above) occurred a little later to Gomperz (cf. *Hellenika*, vol. i. p. 348), apparently before he had seen my text. I understand the passage to mean 'Good gracious! People must be mostly in the dark as

to what the right thing is. It isn't everyone, I should say, who would do what you speak of (αὐτό), but only a man of advanced wisdom like yourself.' Madvig and Schanz assume a lacuna after ὅπη ποτέ ὀρθῶς ἔχει, but this is quite unnecessary. The phrase ὀρθῶς ἔχει, 'it is the right thing' is impersonal here, as in ὀρθῶς ἔχει ἐπεξιέναι (9a, 7), and it does not necessarily require an infinitive to define its meaning, though it may have one. Of course the phrase can also be used personally as in ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν πράξιν (9b, 2). Here we can 'understand' πράξαι, if we like to put the thing in that way, but we must not say that πράξαι is subject to ἔχει. Impersonal verbs and phrases have no subject. I think now that I was wrong in omitting εἶναι after ἐπιτυχόντος with Schanz. It is in W as well as T, and B is prone to sins of omission. The meaning is clearer with εἶναι, but not different.

4b, 10. ἐπεξιέναι (sc. δεῖν) ἐάνπερ ὁ κτείνας συνέστιός σοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ᾗ.

Adam gives the right interpretation here. The point is that, if the homicide shares your hearth and your board, he infects you with the μῖασμα. If you did not come in contact with him in your daily life, it would not matter to you at all. Schanz's ἐάνπερ χῶ κτείνας . . ., 'even if the slayer . . .', therefore destroys the point of the sentence. He himself quotes Antiphon *Tetr.* I. i. 1 which settles the matter, and Adam appositely adds *Laws* ix. 868e κατελθὼν δὲ ὃ τι τοιοῦτον δράσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν ἱερῶν μὴ κοινωνεῖτω μηδὲ ὁμοτράπεζος γιγνέσθω ποτέ. It may be well to add that Plato only uses κτείνω for ἀποκτείνω in referring to bloodguiltiness. It is the legal term.

4e, 2. τὸ θεῖον ὥς ἔχει.

Schanz suspects these words, and suggests that they come from a marginal note τὸ ὄσιον ὥς ἔχει. They will be seen to be correct and even necessary, if we remember that Euthyphron is appealing from human to divine law. See below on 5e, 2.

5b, 4. διδάσκοντι . . . νουθετοῦντι . . . κολάζοντι.

This instance shows how old the comparatively few corruptions in Plato's text are; for BTW all have the impossible διδάσκοντα . . . νουθετοῦντα . . . κολάζοντα. Schanz quotes Vat. 225 (fifteenth century) for the correct reading. Of course that does not prove it to have an independent tradition. The strange thing is rather that the mistake was not corrected earlier.

5c, 6. σὲ μὲν οὐδὲ δοκεῖ ὁρᾶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὕτως ὀξέως [ἀτεχνῶς] καὶ ῥαδίως κατείδεν ὥστε ἀσεβείας ἐγράψατο.

In the first place, σὲ μὲν οὐδὲ δοκεῖ ὁρᾶν means 'he pretends not even to see you' (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 119 μὴ δόκει τούτου κλύειν). Euthyphron is too formidable a person to attack, as he himself has just said, so Meletos shuts his eyes to his proceedings. It is important to observe that Euthyphron is not, as most editors say, a representative of traditional orthodoxy. He is quite conscious that his views are not those of the Athenian people, and he sym-

pathizes strongly with Sokrates as a fellow-heretic. That is very important historically.

As to ἀτεχνῶς, it is hard to believe that it is a mere interpolation in T, and Schanz's view that it is intended to explain the κατ- in κατεῖδεν is most improbable. So is the view I once held that it represents ἀτενῶς (it was suppressed in the reimpression of my text). The suggestion of Mr. Richards (*Platonica* p. 1) that it should be transposed and that we should read ἀτεχνῶς σὲ μὲν οὐδὲ δοκεῖ ὁρᾶν (cf. Ar. *Clouds* 425 οὐδ' ἂν διαλεχθείην ἀτεχνῶς) is most attractive, though I should prefer σὲ μὲν ἀτεχνῶς οὐδὲ δοκεῖ ὁρᾶν. It would mean that ἀτεχνῶς was written in the margin of the archetype and that B left it out, while T inserted it in the wrong place. In both cases the procedure would be characteristic. It is odd, however, that we find no trace of ἀτεχνῶς in W.

5d, 4. κατὰ τὴν ἀνοσιότητα.

I cannot believe that κατὰ τὴν ὀσιότητα is right, though it is doubtless an ancient variant. I wish to point out, at any rate, that Adam's argument from the scholium ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμοίως, παραπλησίως τῇ ὁμοιότητι has no weight. It is not an old scholium but an Arethas-scholium, and Arethas is explaining the text before him as well as he can. He could not correct it; for W too has ὀσιότητα, and we have seen that his corrections come from the original of W. The correction ἀνοσιότητα is apparently by a later hand in that MS. (It is a minor matter, but it is as well to note that there is no lemma κατὰ τὴν ὀσιότητα in the scholium, as Adam says there is. The lemmata are due to the editors.)

5e, 2. θέασαι ὡς μέγα σοι ἐρῶ τεκμήριον τοῦ νόμου ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει.

Schanz rightly objects to the interpretation of τοῦ νόμου as 'public opinion.' Public opinion was against Euthyphron in this matter, as he says himself, and such a use of νόμος would be hard to parallel. But there is no necessity for reading τοῦ νομίμου with Baumann as he does. The law on which Euthyphron relies is one of the ἄγραφοι νόμοι, and therefore he cannot cite any precise text in his justification. He can only appeal to the actions of the gods as a τεκμήριον of what the divine law really is. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that the merely human law of Athens would not have allowed Euthyphron to bring his indictment (see Adam's note), and we are probably to imagine him as appealing to a higher law (like Antigone) before an unsympathetic βασιλεύς. If that is right, there is no need to suspect the words ὅτι ταῦτα ὁρθῶς ἂν εἴη οὕτω γιγνόμενα, since ὅτι depends on τεκμήριον represented by the relative. After the parenthesis, the words μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κ.τ.λ. give the purport of the alleged unwritten law and explain οὕτως ἔχει.

7e, 2. ἄλλοι ἄλλα δίκαια ἡγούνται κ.τ.λ.

C. Ritter (p. 5) thinks I should have mentioned that Hirschig and Schanz insert καὶ ἄδικα after δίκαια. I have, if anything, mentioned such things too

often. Editors insist upon forcing a formal symmetry on Plato which he took special pains to avoid. In the present case some interpolated MSS. have *καὶ ἄδिका* after *ἡγοῦνται* or after *λόγον*, but that too is better passed over in silence.

9d, 2. τοῦτο δ νῦν ἐπανορθούμεθα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. . . .

The evidence for *-ούμεθα* is overwhelming (*-όμεθα* ΞΥ), and the omission of δ in T seems to be accidental. Sokrates was about to say *ἄρα τοῦτο δ νῦν ἐπανορθούμεθα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καλῶς λέγεται*; but he interrupts himself at d, 4 *ἂρ' οὕτω κ.τ.λ.* to make sure that Euthyphron accepts the *ἐπανόρθωσις*. The thread of the sentence is picked up at e, 4 *Οὐκοῦν ἐπισκοπῶμεν αὐ τοῦτο . . . εἰ καλῶς λέγεται*.

11b, 7. δ ἂν προθώμεθα.

Mr. Richards desiderates 'the old *ὑποθώμεθα*,' though he adds that 'it seems to have no MS. authority.' That is not quite the case, though Fischer says so in order to discredit the veracity of Stephanus. It is found in Vat. 225 (Bekker's Δ), for instance, and in the margin of some other MSS. It seems, however, to be nothing more than a correction of the blunder *προθυμώμεθα* which we find in B. The point really is that *προτίθεσθαι* and *ὑποτίθεσθαι* are synonyms. The former is the Attic word, while the latter is the Ionic (and therefore the scientific) term. It is only natural that Euthyphron should use the ordinary word in the first instance.

11e, 3. αὐτός σοι συμπροθυμήσομαι [δείξαι] ὅπως ἂν με διδάξης.

Observe that the interpolation *δείξαι* (BT) is absent from W. It appeared, therefore, for the first time in the archetype of BT. K. F. Hermann already saw that it must go, though he knew nothing of W.

12a, 9. Ζῆνα δὲ τὸν ἔρξαντα καὶ ὃς τάδε πάντ' ἐφύτευσεν
οὐκ ἐθέλει νεικεῖν · ἵνα γὰρ δέος ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς.

It is clear that the archetype had the alternative readings *θ' ἔρξαντα* (BW) and *στέρξαντα* (T and γρ. BW).¹ The reading *θ' ἔρξαντα* is naught; for, in spite of Herodian and others, *ἔρξαντα* can never have had a rough breathing. The *ρέξαντα* of Stobaeus, etc., points plainly to *ἔρξαντα*.

Now *τὸν ἔρξαντα καὶ ὃς . . . ἐφύτευσεν* would be very odd Greek if the words are taken together, though Adam is the only editor who has felt the difficulty (see his note *in loc.*). Placed as it is, *καὶ ὃς* cannot well be co-ordinate with the participle, but must mean 'even he who.' That implies a verb in the third person, and we get *ἐθέλει νεικεῖν* at once from the *ἐθέλειν εἵκειν* of the scholium in Cramer's *Anecdota* and the *νείκεσιν* (i.e., I believe, *νεικέειν*) in the margin of T. In that case, the *ἐθέλειν εἰπεῖν* of W represents the first stage in the corruption. If we remember that *φυτεύειν* is used in

¹ Schanz says '*στέρξαντα* in marg, γρ. b,' but γρ. *στέρξαντα* is certainly in the hand of John the

Calligrapher and not that of Arethas or any later corrector, so 'b' should be B.

Homer of the author of troubles, we shall render 'Even he who was the author of all these things will not revile Zeus.' So much appears to me certain, but I cannot refrain from two rather hazardous speculations.

In the first place, we know from the Venice scholium on *Iliad* A, 5 that, in the *Kypria*, Zeus brought about the Trojan War on the advice of Momos, who may therefore be fitly called the author of all these troubles. It is his special function to find fault with the works of the gods, and later writers tell us that he burst from chagrin because he could find nothing to censure in Aphrodite. Is there a reference here to that or a similar story? Aphrodite, of course, played a great part in the *Kypria*.

In the second place, is it conceivable that Plato read the 'digamma' in his text of Stasinos and reproduced it? We must remember that this letter was quite familiar to educated and travelled men in his day, and it is written once in the papyrus fragment of Alkman. It was also in use as a numeral (=6). If Plato wrote it, that would explain the old reading *στέρξαντα* completely; for the numeral 6 and the ligature of *στ* were quite indistinguishable at a later date.

14c, 3. *νῦν δὲ ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἐρώντα τῷ ἐρωμένῳ ἀκολουθεῖν.*

So B. Though TW have *ἐρωτῶντα*, T has *ἐρωμένῳ* and W *ἐρομένῳ*. It seems clear, then, that *ἐρώντα* is the original reading, though Schanz reads *ἐρωτῶντα . . . ἐρωτωμένῳ*. Apart from the MS. evidence, the chief objection to this is that, according to the rules of dialectic, it is the *ἐρωτώμενος* who must *ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἐρωτῶντι* and not *vice versa*. This is a case where B displays his characteristic excellence.

16a, 3. [*ὅτι*] *ἄμεινον βιωσοίμην.*

I now regret having followed Schanz in bracketing *ὅτι*. I have often repented of leaving a bracket, very seldom of removing one.

JOHN BURNET.

ST. ANDREWS.

ON THE TEXT OF THE *STROMATEIS* OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

THE germ of the following paper is as old as the previous century, when in the year 1898 my attention was accidentally drawn to one of the passages discussed below. But progress was impossible until the facts of the MS. tradition of the *Stromateis*¹ were properly presented—a service for which we are indebted to the excellent edition of Clement by Dr. O. Stählin (Leipzig 1906-1909).

We need do no more than turn the pages of this book to convince ourselves of the large part which omissions have played in deforming the text, and, if a textual critic is to do anything to repair the mischief, it is obvious that he must first inquire into their character. The object then of what follows is not to maintain a thesis but to submit certain facts and considerations which may be of use to systematic students of the traditional text of the *Stromateis* as presented in the above-named edition of Stählin.

The causes of omission in MSS are three. For the first of these—external injury to the exemplar—the copyist is in no way responsible, nor can light be thrown upon such omissions by any study of a scribe's personality as disclosed in any other part of his work. This is not the case with the other two causes that we may distinguish—oversight for which there is excuse and oversight for which there is none. The first includes all the errors covered by the term *homoeographon*.² The second those in respect to which there is no evidence that the scribe's eye has been ensnared by similarities of words or letters, and carelessness is therefore alone to blame.

Method in textual criticism requires that the two last kinds of omission should be discriminated, as the effects they produce are often dissimilar, and that (as I have said elsewhere³) they should both be established for the text with which we are concerned.

That *homoeographon* has produced omissions of letters, syllables and words in the *Stromateis* the following selection of examples may suffice to show: I. 67. 2 καὶ <ἄλλοι> ἄλλοθι πολλαχού, 79. 3 ὁ Κυμαῖος πρῶτος <τοῦ

¹ That is the true and full record of the testimony of L. Laurentianus V. 3.

² *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Ed. 11), 'Textual Criticism,' vol. 26, p. 711, col. 2; *Classical Review*, 16 (1902), p. 309a.

³ E.g. in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* l.c., p. 713,

col. 1, 'since different kinds of scribes are prone to different kinds of errors we must ever bear in mind the particular failings of the scribes responsible for the transmission of our text as these failings are revealed in the *apparatus criticus*.'

γραμματικοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ κριτικοῦ εἰσηγήσατο τοῦνομα, I40. I τοὺς <βαρ> βάρους. IV. 125. 3 εὐτυχεῖν <δυστυχεῖν> τε χρῆ. V. 92. 6 ψυχὴν ἐνοικοῦσαν <καὶ διοικοῦσαν>, ib. μίαν ἢ πλείους; <πλείους>. VI. 24. I τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τὸ πρόσφορον <Ἐφορον>, ib. 149. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἵνα δόξωμεν εἶναι <χρηστοὶ εἰς> Χριστὸν πιστεύομεν, ib. 162. 5 εἰ φιλοσοφητέον <φιλοσοφητέον>. VII. 4. 2 ἀποτελέσματα <α', i.e. πρῶτον> τὸ γινώσκειν, cf. ib. 76. 5 τὰς ὅφεις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ <ᾧ> ὄρατα χειραγωγῶν, 29. 3 δε<δαί> δαλμένον, ib. 46. 2 τῷ γνωστικῷ <γνωστικῷ> ἕκαστα ἀποδίδονται.

That omission occurred *without* the lure of *homoeographon* may be shown by the following: I. 150. 5 fin. ὅτι μάλιστα <δι' ὀλίγων (or διὰ βραχέων)>. Μωυσῆς. II. 106. I ἐντεῦθεν οἶμαι καὶ <τὸν εὐρόντα> τὰς τελετάς, ib. 115. 2 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως <γίγνεσθαι or εἶναι> τὴν σωτηρίαν. IV. 30. 3 ὡς τὸ πεπτρωμένον καὶ τὸ πεφωτισμένον <τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ φωτός> φῶς οὖν, ib. 92. 4 χαίρων καὶ συγχαίρων <τοὺς δὲ> πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. VII. 45. I τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ διεληφώς <δεδιδαγμένος or δεδιδαγμένα> πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας.

The causes which have produced the two kinds of losses that we have been considering are not to have their sphere artificially restricted to letters, syllables or words: they must be allowed to affect larger blocks of writing and to cause the omission of whole lines, single or several. Nor shall we be surprised to find such omissions in the text of the *Stromateis*.

Here, however, it is necessary to discriminate; for the two causes do not produce quite similar effects. The omissions of negligence in such cases are in units, we may say; that is, they are (approximately) losses of whole lines or of multiples of these. But omissions through the straying of the eyes in *homoeographa* from one line to another are not necessarily to the same extent in units. We have always to allow for the possibility of some lateral deflexion. In amount therefore an omission of this kind may from the outset be somewhat more or less than a single line or a multiple of lines. This must be borne in mind when we come to calculations.

In the present connexion Loss cannot be separated from Repetition and Transposition. Meaningless (that is, mechanical) repetition of a unit is obviously correlated to its mechanical omission; and, as I have said elsewhere,¹ transposition of lines and passages is really 'arrested loss.'

There is one element of uncertainty which an inquiry into the constitution of the unit-line, if I may call it so, of the exemplar of the *Stromateis* cannot hope to eliminate, and which therefore it is obliged to neglect. This is the question to what extent abbreviations occurred in that exemplar. That numerals, ordinal as well as cardinal, were denoted frequently, if not invariably, by letters is not only probable in itself, but supported by the

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* l.c., p. 712, col. 2. The matter is dealt with at length in the *Classical Review*, 16 (1902), p. 308. Transposition of words

also is sometimes due to 'arrested loss.' VI. 65. 6 γεωμετρῇ καὶ γεωργῇ (L, corr. St.) is an interesting case.

indications of our MS. as recorded in Stählin's apparatus; thus $\bar{\epsilon}$ represents $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$ (vol. i., p. 139. 26) and $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (*ib.* p. 474. 12).¹ But how far other abbreviations were employed we can only conjecture. We must then content ourselves with simply counting the letters, the ι adscript of course reckoning as one.

The evidence which I would submit to readers of the *Classical Quarterly* as perhaps adequate to support a definite conclusion, viz., that the average unit-line contained slightly more than 30 letters, consists of the following passages:

OMISSIONS DUE TO 'HOMOEOPHONA.'

II. 135. 1 (I. p. 187, St.) $\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\nu\tau\iota \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota <\kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\omicron\nu \pi\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \tau\omicron \alpha\gamma\gamma\upsilon\tau\iota\omicron\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\pi\iota \tau\omicron\kappa\omega\iota \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota>$. Loss of 46 letters, supplied from Ezekiel.

I. 102. 4 (I. p. 66, St.) $\phi\alpha\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota <\tau\omicron\omega\iota \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\omega\iota \acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota \tau\eta\varsigma \text{'}\text{Α}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\rho\iota\omega\nu \alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \delta\grave{\epsilon} \text{Β}\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \omicron\gamma\delta\omicron\omicron\nu \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma>$ $\tau\omicron\omega\iota \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\tau\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\omega\iota \eta \text{Μ}\omega\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma \kappa\tau.\acute{\epsilon}$. Loss of 80 or 52 letters, according as words or numeral letters were used, supplied from Eusebius.

IV. 33. 1 (I. p. 262, St.) $\delta\iota\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha \gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\tau\omega <\tau\grave{\alpha} \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta \tau\grave{\alpha} \delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\alpha \cdot \tau\grave{\alpha} \lambda\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \tau\omicron\upsilon \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \alpha\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu \cdot \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma>$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \tau\grave{\alpha} \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta \tau\grave{\alpha} \delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu \kappa\tau.\acute{\epsilon}$. The omitted words, restored from 'Clem. Rom. Syr.,' total 71 letters, 68 if $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ was abbreviated.

MECHANICAL REPETITIONS. I. OF BLOCKS OF WORDS.

IV. 72. 4 (I. p. 281, St.) $\delta\iota\omicron\pi\epsilon\rho \alpha\rho\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon \delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota \cdot \alpha\rho\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota \delta\grave{\epsilon} \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \omicron\iota \mu\grave{\eta} \omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\iota$, an exact repetition of the last words of § 4. 69 letters.

V. 4. 2 (I. p. 328, St.) $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\acute{\omicron} \tau\eta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \sigma\omega\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$, 52 letters, a duplication of the same words in § 1, where they are preceded by $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$. The *homoeographon* seems to have caused their repetition in the wrong place.

VI. 35. 4 (I. p. 449, St.) $\omicron\omega\nu \tau\omicron \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon \delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\nu \tau\omicron\omega\nu \alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\omega\nu \phi\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\omega\nu <\tau\omicron \delta\grave{\epsilon} \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\eta\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\varsigma \sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\nu\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\omega\nu \pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon \pi\lambda\alpha\nu\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu>$ $\tau\omicron \delta\grave{\epsilon} \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\omega\nu \sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\delta\omega\nu$. The omitted words were inserted by Gruppe from 36. 1, where with the exception of $\tau\omicron \delta\grave{\epsilon} \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ they appear after $\gamma\epsilon\omega\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. They contain 63 letters, 59 if $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$ was written $\bar{\epsilon}$.

II. OF SINGLE WORDS OVER A CONSIDERABLE SPACE.

VII. 13. 1 (II. p. 10, St.) $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\eta \delta\grave{\epsilon} \acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\omega\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\kappa\rho\iota\nu\eta \tau\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\nu \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\phi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\omega\varsigma\alpha\iota\varsigma \psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma \theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu, \acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\phi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha\varsigma$. That one of the $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$'s (St. brackets the second) has come from the other seems certain. There are 59 letters between them.

¹ The notes on pp. 446, 447, 449, 489 afford other examples.

Similarly in 15. 1 (II. p. 11, St.) τὸ θεῖον is repeated at a distance of 100 letters from its proper place.

Again in VIII. 14. 3 (II. p. 88, St.) ἀπάντων is repeated 65 letters, or 61 if πρώτη was abbreviated, away from its proper place.

Similarly in V. 94. 4 (I. p. 388, St.) ἐπείσσοδον has produced εἴσοδον in the following line 26 letters off.

In VIII. 30. 2 (II. p. 99, St.) after αἵτιοι τοῦ the following words, προκόπτειν κατηγορήματος λέγεται δὲ ἀλλήλοις αἵτια ποτὲ μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ὡς ὁ ἔμπορος καὶ ὁ κάπηλος ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶν αἵτιοι τοῦ, 102 letters, were repeated by the first hand in L.

PASSAGES TRANSPOSED.

An interesting example of *homoeographon* appears in a verse quotation in V. 109. 3 (I. p. 400, St.) :

ἀλλ' εἴ τοι χεῖράς γ' εἶχον βόες ἢ λέοντες
ὡς γράψαι χεῖρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ ἄνδρες
ἵπποι μὲν θ' ἵπποισι βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὁμοίας
καὶ κε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποιοῦν
τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὶ αὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ὁμοῖον.

So the passage is given in Stählin. But his order for the last three lines and the ὁμοίας which he takes from the quotation in Theodoret are obviously wrong.

The original form of the verses was

καὶ κε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποιοῦν
τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὶ αὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ἔκαστοι
ἵπποι μὲν θ' ἵπποισι βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὁμοῖα,

with the ἔκαστοι of Hiller and Diels and the transposition of Karsten. The first corruption was the miscopying of ὁμοῖα for ἔκαστοι from the following line. After that, homoeographon at the end of the two verses caused the omission of the latter which was subsequently reinserted but copied into a wrong place. Theodoret's ὁμοίας is worthless in itself, but interesting as pointing to ὁμοῖα which in Clement's text, as offered by L, and in Eusebius has been changed to ὁμοῖον. The lines may have been written continuously, and the distance from the beginning of one ὁμοῖα to that of the other would be 35 letters.

I deviate for a moment to consider a textual question arising on the first line of the fragment. Stählin's critical note is as follows :

ἔχον Eus. . . . ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες <ἵπποι τ'> ἢ λέοντες . . . ἢ λέοντες] ἢ ἐλέφαντες Theod. MSCV ἢ κέλητες Schultess ἢ κελέοντες Diels Berl. Sitz. B. 1891 S. 578.

The motive underlying these changes is that λέοντες and ἵπποι are 'incompatible' (Diels l.c.). If real 'lions' were meant, this would be true; but these animals are only illustrative. For the writer's purpose 'lions' are as good as 'horses,' and the substitution of the one for the other is merely

legitimate poetic variation. One might as reasonably attack the text of Persius *Choliamb.* 8 sqq. 'quis expediuit *psittaco* suum "chaere" | pिकासque docuit uerba nostra conari? magister artis ingenique largitor | uenter, negatas artifex sequi uoces. | quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi, | *coruos* poetas et poetridas picas | cantare credas Pegaseium nectar,' where *psittacus* means 'a talking bird such as a parrot,' and *coruus* 'a talking bird such as a raven.'¹ This superficial inconsistency in the details of an illustration occurs elsewhere, Hor. S. II. 1. 52 sqq. '*dente* lupus, *cornu* taurus petit — mirum | ut neque *calce* lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos.' The ox, or bull, is formidable both with hoofs and horns: the reader may take his choice. There is no diplomatic reason for doubting our text; ἡ ἐλέφαντες (in itself quite possible) has simply come from a wrong division of words ἡ ἐλέοντες. And that lions might be imagined in the rôle of artists we can see from Babrius *Mythiamb.* 194 (Crusius) εἰ λέοντες ἡδιδεσαν γλύφειν πολλοὺς ἂν ἄνδρας εἶδες ὑποκάτω λέοντος.

I. 82 (I. p. 53, St.) discusses the question whether non-interference (τὸ μὴ κωλύον) is the same as responsibility (τὸ αἴτιον). §§ 2-5 read as follows αὐτίκα κολάζονται πρὸς τοῦ νόμου οἱ τούτων αἴτιοι. ὦι γὰρ κωλύσαι δύναμις ἦν, τούτῳ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντος προσάπτεται. <διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν ἐπιτελεῖται ὅτι τὸ κωλύσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ οὐδὲ κωλύει> φάμεν δὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ αἴτιον ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐνεργεῖν καὶ δρᾶν νοεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ κωλύον κατὰ γε τοῦτο ἀνεέργητον εἶναι. ἔτι τὸ μὲν αἴτιον πρὸς τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ ἐστὶ, καθάπερ ὁ μὲν ναυπηγὸς πρὸς τῷ γίγνεσθαι τὸ σκάφος ὁ δὲ οἰκοδόμος πρὸς τῷ κτίζεσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν. τὸ δὲ μὴ κωλύον κεχώρισται τοῦ γιγνομένου. τί γὰρ ἐνεργεῖ ὁ μὴ κωλύων; Prof. J. B. Mayor's transposition of the words which stand in the MS. after γιγνομένου, and break and stultify the argument there, seems inevitable. They contain 64 letters.

In II. 59. 6—60. 1 (I. p. 145, St.) ὁρμὴ μὲν οὖν φορὰ διανοίας ἐπὶ τι ἢ ἀπὸ του. πάθος δὲ πλεονάζουσα ὁρμὴ ἢ ὑπερτείνουσα κατὰ τὸν λόγον μέτρα, ἢ ὁρμὴ ἐκφερομένη καὶ ἀπειθὴς λόγῳ. παρὰ φύσιν οὖν κίνησις ψυχῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπειθειαν τὰ πάθη. ἢ δ' ἀπόστασις καὶ ἀπείθεια ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ὑπακοὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐκούσια κρίνεται. αὐτίκα καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον τῶν παθῶν εἴ τις ἐπεξίει, ἀλόγους ὀρέξεις εὗροι ἂν αὐτά. (60) τὸ γοῦν ἀκούσιον οὐ κρίνεται. διττὸν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μὲν γιγνόμενον μετ' ἀγνοίας τὸ δὲ ἀνάγκῃ even a casual observer may see, what Prof. J. B. Mayor has pointed out, that the words αὐτίκα το αὐτά at the end of 59 are out of place. They include 63 letters.

In III. 52, 53 (I. pp. 220 sq. St.) Clement cites the example of pillars of the Church against the contemporaries whom he is attacking. In 52. 1 we read οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους (as generally understood, Elijah and Samuel) ὑπερφέρειν λέγοντες πολιτεῖαι καὶ βίῳ οὐδε συγκριθῆναι ταῖς ἐκείνων πράξεσι δυνήσονται. These words follow on καὶ Σαμουὴλ δὲ ὁ προφήτης [ἦν] ὃν καταλελοίπει κωλεὸν ἐξ ὧν ἡσθιε φέρων ἔδωκε τῷ Σαοῦλ φαγεῖν, and they precede ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων τοῖνυν

¹ It is worth noting that some of the inferior MSS. of Persius give before or after v. 9 a line designed to get rid of the 'incompatibility,'

'coruos quis olim concauum (or Caesarem) salutare,' which bears a strong family resemblance to Prof. Diels's first correction here

τὸν ἐσθίουντα μὴ ἐξουθενείτω with more on the practice and teaching of Christ and his apostles as regards eating, drinking and marriage; this ends in 54. § 4 ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κέκραγεν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρώσις καὶ πόσις οὐδὲ μὴν ἀποχὴ οἴνου καὶ κρεῶν 'ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.' Next comes a section relating to οἱ μακάριοι προφήται: Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, John the Baptist are mentioned. It begins τίς αὐτῶν μηλωτὴν καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην ἔχων περιέρχεται ὡς Ἡλίας; With the present order, there is nothing for this αὐτῶν to refer to, except the New Testament worthies, which is absurd. It must obviously mean the same people as the οἱ in 52. 1. Recognising this, Professor Mayor proposed to move the words to follow *δυνήσονται* above. They contain 251 letters, so that a block of 8 lines would have been displaced ($8 \times 31 = 248$). But there is another alternative. The first passage contains 91 letters, i.e. about 3 lines; and so it might be moved down in front of the second one. This will do away with the break in the exposition of the right doctrine of eating and drinking which is the effect of its present place, while it will also give more pertinence to its expression. For it will now mean 'Our friends who actually claim to be superior to the saints of the New Testament (τούτους) cannot stand a comparison even with those of the Old (ἐκείνων).'

A small and easily cured displacement has occurred at IV. 138. 4 (I. p. 309, St.) οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀρθέντας μετατεθῆναι ἀλλὰ βαδίζοντας ἀφικέσθαι οἱ δεῖ [τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐλ. υσθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός] διὰ πάσης τῆς στενῆς διελθόντας ὁδοῦ, τὸ ἄξιον γενέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν, τῆς χάριτος παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαβεῖν¹ ἀκωλύτως ἀναδραμεῖν. The words διὰ—ὁδοῦ, 31 letters in all, were omitted after οἱ δεῖ and reinserted when the words τοῦτο—πατρός had been written, leaving the latter in a place where they furnish neither proper sense nor construction. The correction is due to Potter.

In VI. 80. 1 (I. p. 471, St.) again Professor Mayor has detected a dislocation. The passage should run: κατ' ἐπακολούθημα τοίνυν καὶ τοῖς εἰς γνώσιν γυμνάζουσιν αὐτὸν προσανάκειται, παρ' ἐκάστου μαθήματος τὸ πρόσφορον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λαμβάνων, τῆς μὲν οὖν μουσικῆς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἡρμωσμένοις ἀναλογίαν διώκων <καὶ ἐθιζόμενος συνεχές τι διάστημα νοεῖν> ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριθμητικῇ τὰς αὐξήσεις καὶ μειώσεις τῶν ἀριθμῶν παρασημειούμενος καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχέσεις καὶ ὡς τὰ πλεῖστα ἀναλογίαι τινὲ ἀριθμῶν ὑποπέπτωκεν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γεωμετρικῇ οὐσίαν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς θεωρῶν καὶ οὐσίαν ἀμετάβλητον, ἐτέραν τῶνδε τῶν σωμάτων οὐσαν· ἔκ τε αὐτῆς ἀστρονομίας κ.τ.ε., except that the second οὐσίαν appears to be another case of the intrusion of a word from an adjacent line. The words καὶ το νοεῖν (L νοεῖ), which obviously refer to μουσική, follow θεωρῶν in L and contain 34 letters as preserved in that MS. Homoeographon ἡρμωσμένοις, ἐθιζόμενος may have been at work here.

VII. 83. 1 (II. p. 59, St.) appears thus in the tradition (except that L has ἀποκεκαθαρμένους) ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τοίνυν εἰκότως ταρασσεται τῶν συμβαινόντων οὐδὲ ὑποπτεύει τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι γιγνομένων οὐδὲ αἰσχύ-

¹ καὶ ἀκωλύτως Stählin.

νεται ἀποθανεῖν, εὐσυνείδητος ὢν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ὀφθῆναι, πάντας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποκεκαθαρμένους σπίλους, ὃ γε εὖ μάλα ἐπιστάμενος ἄμεινον αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον γενέσθαι (γενήσεσθαι Mayor, Stählin). Professor Wilamowitz has rightly noted that ὃ γε and the words following, totalling 53 or (taking γενήσεσθαι) 55 letters, are out of place; and he would put them after ἀποθανεῖν. But this verb is itself an interloper. αἰσχύνεται ἀποθανεῖν is a senseless phrase; φοβεῖται ἀποθανεῖν would be intelligible. The word is a gloss on ταῖς ἐξουσίαις (i.e. the angelic hierarchy, a well-attested use) ὀφθῆναι. Our perfect Gnostic will not be afraid to die, nor, as he has a good conscience, will he be ashamed to meet the angel hosts. And accordingly, inserting τι after ὑποπτεύει with Heyse or, perhaps better with Mayor, οὐδὲν after γιγνομένων, we may appropriately place the words in question immediately before οὐδὲ αἰσχύνεται.

In VII. 109. 1 (II. pp. 76, 77, St.) ὁπῆν οὖν τινα ὀλίγην ὑποδείξαντες τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς θυσίας νόμου περί τε Ἰουδαίων τῶν χυδαίων περί τε τῶν αἰρέσεων μυστικῶς διακρινομένων, ὡς ἀκαθάρτων, ἀπὸ τῆς [περὶ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων ζώων] θείας ἐκκλησίας καταπαύσωμεν τὸν λόγον. The words περί—ζώων are senseless where they stand and Stählin brackets them. But Lowth's remedy, to put them after νόμου, is clearly better. They contain 28 letters, and homoeographon περί(τε)—περί will have caused their omission.

I now take a passage where the text of Clement has been used to emend that of an earlier author.

In I. 93. 1 (I. p. 59, St.) the manuscript reads κὰν τῷ Δημοδόκῳ εἰ δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὸ σύγγραμμα μὴ δὲ ἡγοῦ¹ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν² λέγειν³ 'περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα⁴ ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθ οὐ ν τ α ἀλλὰ ἄλλο τι, ἐπεὶ ἔγωγε ὦμιμν καὶ ὄνειδος εἶναι.' The quotation is from the *Erastæ* attributed to Plato (p. 137 B), where the tradition gives ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως, ὦ φίλε, ἔχωσι μηδὲ⁴ ἡι τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακῆναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦν τ α κυπτάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθ οὐ ν τ α ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ ὦμιμν καὶ ὄνειδος εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ βαναύσους καλεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακότας. Cobet, Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς (p. 531) and Professor Jackson subsequently (*J. Phil.* l.c. p. 139) maintained, and this with justice, that the text here was unsatisfactory; and proposed to strike out the words ἐσπουδακῆναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα as 'a duplicate of κυπτάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα.' But anything less like a 'duplicate' of this than ἐσπουδακῆναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα it is not easy to conceive. And it will be observed that the homoeographon in πολυπραγμονοῦν τ α—πολυμαθ οὐ ν τ α was quite capable of causing the omission from the text of Clement of a total of 32 letters. The same cause produced a similar effect in the text of the *Erastæ*; but here the words lost were restored, though not to their proper place. The passage then should run περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα ζῆν, οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα ἐσπουδακῆναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμο-

¹ μὴ οὐκ ἡι τοῦτο Professor H. Jackson, accepted by Stählin.

27. 140.

³ κυπτάζοντα Dindorf.

² λέγει Stählin, Professor Jackson, *J. Phil.*

⁴ οὐδ' ἡι Professor Jackson.

νοῦντα ἄλλ' ἄλλο τι κ.τ.ε. There is now nothing faulty in the Greek. *κυπτάζειν περί* requires no illustration, and *σπουδάζω* with a participle (*διδάσκων* as here *πολυμαθοῦντα*) is attested in Xen. *Oecon.* 9. 1.¹

A very natural question now suggests itself. To what extent should acceptable supplements of undeniable gaps in the text of the *Stromateis* be expected to recognise the average unit-line suggested by this inquiry. From the nature of the case the precise form of such supplements can never be free from doubt, and with our present knowledge of the textual conditions of the *Stromateis* a systematic examination of the lacunae might, I fear, be both a lengthy and a sterile undertaking. But I may be permitted to give examples of supplements already proposed which, if the hypothesis we have been considering is correct, will be seen to have unconsciously conformed. I cite then by way of instance the following: I. 17. 4 (I. p. 12. 26, St.) *καθάπερ δ' οἱ γεωργοὶ προαρδεύσαντες τὴν γῆν <εἴθ' οὕτω τὸ σπέρμα καταβάλλουσιν (28 letters, Sylburg)> οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῷ ποτίμῳ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι λόγων προαρδεύομεν τὸ γεῶδες αὐτῶν, ὡς παραδέξασθαι τὸ καταβαλλόμενον σπέρμα πνευματικὸν καὶ τοῦτο εὐμαρῶς ἐκθρέψαι δύνασθαι.* II. 68. 3 (I. p. 149. 17, St.) *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τριῶν ἀποχῆς ἀμαρτίας τρόπων διδάσκειν ὁ νομοθέτης, τῶν μὲν ἐν λόγῳ διὰ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἀναύδων· ἔστι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι οὐ σιγὴ λόγου διαφέρει· ἔστι καὶ σιγῆς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας· τῶν δὲ ἐν ἔργῳ διὰ τῶν ἀρπακτικῶν καὶ σαρκοβόρων ὀρνέων· <τῶν δὲ ἐν διανοίᾳ διὰ τοῦ χοίρου· ὁ γὰρ (31 letters, Stählin, Schwartz)> χοῖρος βορβόρῳ ἥδεται.* V. 59. 1 (I. p. 365. 26, St.) *ναὶ μὴν ἡ Πυθαγόρου συνουσία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς διττὴ κοινωνία ἀκουσματικούς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τινὰς μαθηματικούς ἐτέρους καλοῦσα, τοὺς γνησίως ἀνθαπτομένους τῆς φιλοσοφίας, <οὐχί² πᾶσαν πᾶσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν συνεχώρησεν (35 letters, Mayor)> ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι τὸ δὲ καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἡνίσσετο.* IV. 152. 1 (I. p. 315. 25) *καθόλου γὰρ τὸ παθητικὸν <παντοδαπὸν ἐστὶν καὶ δουλούμενον (29 letters, Wilamowitz)> παντὶ γένει ἐπιθυμίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀπάθειαν θεούμενος ἄνθρωπος ἀχράντως μοναδικὸς γίνεται.* Lastly in II. 129. 1 (I. p. 183. 1, St.) *πάλιν δ' αὖ Ζήνων μὲν ὁ Στωικὸς τέλος ἡγείται τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν . . . ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν ὃ ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ κείσθαι διελάμβανεν.* The supplements of Arnim *Διογένης* δὲ ὁ *Βαβυλώνιος* τὸ τέλος (29 letters) and of Stählin *Διογένης* δὲ τὸ τέλος κείσθαι ἡγείτο (or ἡγείται, 30 or 31 letters) will both conform, though I should prefer Stählin's, as ὁ *Βαβυλώνιος* is not a necessary addition in a context where it is clear the Stoic Diogenes is referred to.

A question intimately affecting the text of the *Stromateis* in more than one place is that of Clement's accuracy in quotation. On this Professor Mayor says fairly enough, 'Clement is never very exact in his quotations' (*Cl. Rev.* 8. 237b).

¹ The quotation stops abruptly in Clement, so I note that there are 55 letters from *τοῦτο* to

ἐσπουδακότας.

² Or, better perhaps, *οὐ πᾶσαν* (33 letters).

So at IV. 53. 4 (I. p. 273, St.) where, continuing a quotation of Euripides *Hyphsipyte* (fr. 757 Nauck), he gives according to the MS.

εἶτα ἐπιφέρει .

ταῦτα δεῖ

στέργειν ἄπερ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν¹

οὐ δεινὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς,

Clement may have written *στέργειν*, though, that Euripides wrote *τί ταῦτα δεῖ* | *στένειν*, the evidence of Plutarch and Stobaeus leaves no doubt.

In I. 67. 4 (I. p. 42, St.) we read *ψυχὰς γὰρ ἀγαθὰς κατὰ Πλάτωνα καταλιπούσας τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον ὑπομεῖναι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τόνδε τὸν τάρταρον καὶ σῶμα ἀναλαβούσας τῶν ἐν γενέσει κακῶν ἀπάντων μετασχεῖν ὑπολαμβάνουσι κηδομένας τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους αἱ νόμους τε ἔθεσαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐκήρυξαν 'οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν τῶι τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει οὔτ' ἡλθέν ποτε ἐκ θεῶν οὔτ' ἀφίξεται.'* The reference to Plato appears not to have been identified; but the last words are assumed to be a quotation from *Timaeus*, p. 47 A, B ἐξ ὧν ἐπορισάμεθα φιλοσοφίας γένος οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὔτ' ἡλθεν οὔτε ἥξει ποτὲ τῶι θνητῶι γένει δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν. If so, the quoting is something worse than 'not very exact.' But to me the words *οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν* irresistibly suggest the beginning of an iambic line, and I think that both Plato and Clement may have been quoting inexactly, the former no doubt for reasons of his own; compare his paraphrase of *Il.* I. 25-28 at *Rep.* 393 E. Both forms of the quotation fall easily into a couple of trimeters; but all restoration must be tentative. In this spirit I suggest

οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὔτε τῶι θνητῶν γένει

ἡλθ' ἐκ θεῶν δωρητὸν οὔθ' ἥξει ποτέ

οὔτ' ἀφίξεται.

Apropos of the *Timaeus* I wonder if a suggestion which I made to the late Mr. Archer-Hind when his edition was preparing and which he accepted has met with any favour. It was that in 76 E the words *δέρμα τρίχας ὄνυχας τε ἐπ' ἄκροις τοῖς κώλοις ἔφυσαν* (with his necessary addition of *τ'* after *τρίχας*) are an hexameter taken from 'some old physical poet' and accommodated to the prose rhythm.

δέρμα τρίχας τ' ὄνυχας τ' ἐπ' ἄκροις κώλοισιν ἔφυσαν.

The metre and prosody of the verse have nothing alien to Empedocles.

Strom. VII. 45. 4 with the following chapter (II. p. 34, 18, St.) is an exalted description of the perfect Gnostic in the genuine Stoic vein. Beginning οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ γνωστικὸς ὁ πιστὸς ὁ πεπεισμένος ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον, in 46. 7 it pursues the theme in the following strain τῶι δὲ ἐνθένδε εἰς γνώσεως ἀκρότητα καὶ τὸ ἐπαναβεβηκὸς ὕψος ἀνδρὸς ἐντελοῦς γεγυμνασμένωι πρὸ ὁδοῦ τὰ κατὰ χρόνον καὶ τόπον ἅπαντα ἀμεταπτῶτως βιοῦν ἐλομένωι καὶ ἀσκοῦντι διὰ τὴν τῆς γνώμης πάντοθεν μονότονον

¹ διεκπερᾶν Stob. Plut., δεῖ δ' ἐκπερᾶν L.

ἐδραιότητα· ὅσοις δὲ βρίθουσά τις ἔτι ὑπολείπεται γωνία κάτω
ῥέπουσα, καὶ κατασπᾶται τὸ διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἀναγόμενον.

The word in black type has been attacked by scholars who have failed to see its relation to the words which are put in spaced type. Yet no part of the Stoic doctrine should be better known than the comparison of the sage, the perfect man, to the perfect figure, the sphere of the divine and perfect universe and the perfect soul.¹ I subjoin, chiefly from v. Arnim's *Stoicorum Veterum fragmenta*, a selection of passages sufficient to make this clear.

Aëtius *Plac.* I. 6 ὀρίζονται δὲ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐσίαν οἱ Στωικοὶ οὕτως . . . ἔσχον δὲ ἔννοιαν τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν ἐμφαινομένων προσλαμβάνοντες . . . καλὸς δὲ ὁ κόσμος· δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ χρώματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἀστέρων ποικιλίας. σφαιροειδὴς γὰρ ὁ κόσμος ὃ πάντων σχημάτων πρωτεύει· μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν ὁμοιοῦται· περιφερὴς δὲ ὧν ἔχει τὰ μέρη περιφερῇ· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἱερώτατον συνέστηκεν ὁ νοῦς, cf. *Diog. Laert.* VII. 148 οὐσίαν δὲ θεοῦ Ζήνων μὲν φησι τὸν ὅλον κόσμον καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος κ.τ.ξ. Aët. *Plac.* II. 2. 1 οἱ μὲν Στωικοὶ σφαιροειδῇ τὸν κόσμον. *Seneca Apocolocyntosis* 8 (in ridicule of the deified Claudius) 'Ἐπικούρειος θεός non potest esse: οὐτ' αὐτὸς πρᾶγμα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλοις παρέχει. Stoicus? quomodo potest rotundus esse ut ait Varro sine capite sine praeputio. est aliquid in illo Stoici dei, iam uideo; nec cor nec caput habet.' Cf. the *Herculanean fragm.* Arnim II. no. 1059 πῶς γὰρ ἰδίαν ἔχει μορφήν τὸ σφαιροειδές. *Schol. in Hom. Il.* Ψ 65 Χρύσιππος δὲ [τὰς ψυχὰς] μετὰ τὸν χωρισμὸν τοῦ σώματος σφαιροειδεῖς γενέσθαι δογματίζει. So *Lucan* 9. 9 'aeternos animam collegit in orbis' (cf. 'orbem' *Ov. Fast.* 6. 271 below). *Hieronymus Ep.* 108. 23 'ossa audis et carnem et pedes et manus et globos mihi Stoicorum atque aëria quaedam deliramenta confingis.' *Marcus Aurelius*, 12. 3 ἐάν . . . ποιήσης τε σεαυτὸν οἶος ὁ Ἐμπεδόκλειος σφαῖρος κυκλοτερὴς μονίῃ περιγηθεί γαίων. Cf. *Id.* 8. 41, 11. 12 σφαῖρα ψυχῆς αὐτοειδής, *Hor. S.* II. 7. 56 '(sapiens) in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus.'

The metaphorical language of Clement will however remain obscure until it is noted that it has a special reference to the central sphere of the universe, to wit the earth, of which, to begin with, we read in Aët. *Plac.* III. 9. 3 οἱ Στωικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σφαιροειδῇ τὴν γῆν. Next may be cited from *Achilles Isagoge* 4 (II. 555 Arnim) part of the description of the κόσμος as a series of concentric spherical shells τὸν δὲ αἰθέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν (εἴτε ὁ αὐτὸς εἴτε διαφύρος) ἔξωθεν εἶναι σφαιρικὸν σχῆμα ἔχοντα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀέρα εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν σφαιρικῶς περικείμενον ἔξωθεν τῇ γῇ· ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ τρίτην εἶναι σφαῖραν, τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος, περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν δὲ τῷ μεσαιοτάτῳ τὴν γῆν εἶναι, κέντρον τάξιν καὶ μέγεθος

¹ The doctrine of the perfectness of the sphere is of course pre-Stoic. In the *Timaeus* of Plato it appears in more than one application; 33 B (on

the κόσμος) and 73 C sqq. (of the brain and head) are not without their instructiveness for parts of the present inquiry.

ἐπέχουσιν ὡς ἐν σφαίραι· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τρεῖς σφαῖρας ἢ τέσσαρας περιδινεῖσθαι· τὴν δὲ τῆς γῆς μόνην ἐστάναι. This μονότονος ἐδραιότης, 'isolated stability,' is described further on: καὶ τὴν γῆν δέ, πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ὠθουμένην ἰσορρόπως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ εἶναι καὶ ἐστάναι· ἢ πάλιν ὥσπερ εἴ τις λαβὼν σῶμα δήσειε πανταχόθεν σχοινοῖς καὶ δοίη τισὶν ἰσορρόπως ἔλκειν ἐπ' ἀκριβείας· συμβήσεται γὰρ πανταχόθεν ἐπίσης περιελκόμενον στῆναι καὶ ἀτρεμῆσαι. Plutarch *de facie in orbe lunae* cap. 6 p. 923 E γῆν δέ φατε ὑμεῖς (Stoici) ἀνευ βάσεως καὶ ρίζης διαμένειν· πάννυ μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν ὁ Φαρνάκης, τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τόπον ἔχουσιν, ὅσπερ αὐτῇ τὸν μέσον· οὗτος γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὃν ἀντερείδει πάντα τὰ βάρη ῥέποντα, καὶ φέρεται καὶ συννεύει πανταχόθεν· ἡ δὲ ἄνω χώρα πᾶσα, καὶν τι δέξεται γεῶδες ὑπὸ βίας ἀναρριφέν, εὐθύς ἐκθλίβει δεῦρο μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφίησιν ἢ πέφυκεν οἰκεῖαι ῥοπήνι καταφερόμενον. I have quoted this passage in full because it contains an apparent but very natural and insignificant discordance with Clement in the use of 'up' and 'down.' To a spectator on the surface of the earth the rest of the universe is 'up'; to one at the centre of the same it would be 'down.' This is the point of view in a noteworthy parallel in Ovid, *Fasti* 6. 169 sqq., which I have already discussed and interpreted in this Journal (IV. pp. 196 sqq.) but on which I have now something further to say: 'terra pilae similis, nullo fulmine nixa, | aere subiecto tam graue pendet onus.' It is thus that the position of the earth presents a parallel to the γνώσεως ἀκρότης and the ἐπαναβεβηκὸς ὕψος of the 'perfect man.' The next pentameter throws a flood of light on Clement's γωνία 'ipsa uolubilitas libratum sustinet orbem | quique premat partes angulus omnis abest,' or, in my translation, 'its very rotundity keeps the globe in equilibrium; it has no corners to depress any one of its parts'—an exact parallel to our author's expression 'All that have any corner (angle) still left to depress them by its downward moment find that dragged down which faith would elevate.' The comparison of the passages has now disclosed that Ovid was drawing from a Stoic source,¹ another indication of which is his identification of *Terra* and *Vesta* and his insistence on the immobility of the earth as the centre of the universe, as we learn from Plutarch *op. cit.* cap. 6, p. 923 A that Cleanthes said Aristarchus of Samos' countrymen should have indicted him for impiety ὡς κινουντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἐστίαν ὅτι τὰ φαινόμενα σώιζειν ἀνὴρ ἐπειράτο, μένειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος, ἐξελίττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ λοξοῦ κύκλου τὴν γῆν, ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄξονα δινομένην. The notion of absence of angularity in the perfect man's soul appears also in M. Aurelius II. 12 (l.c) σφαῖρα ψυχῆς αὐτοειδής, ὅταν μήτε ἐπιτείνηται ἐπὶ τι μήτε ἔσω συντρέχηι.

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June 22, 1914.

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¹ Stoic influence, it may be added, has recently been traced in the cosmogony of Ovid *Met.* i. by

Mr. F. E. Robbins, *Classical Philology*, 8. (1913) pp. 401 sqq.

THE *CODEx BAMBERGENSIS* OF THE FIRST DECADE OF LIVY (I.-VII. 17).

I EXAMINED this MS. at Bamberg in the Christmas vacation of 1912-13 for the purposes of the forthcoming critical edition of Livy by Professor Conway and Professor Walters. In 1856 H. W. Heerwagen described it, and published a collation of the first book.¹ Apart from that it has been until now neglected. Bekker had it sent to him at Leipzig about 1830 for the purposes of his text: on its way back it fell into Kreyssig's hands (see the latter's preface to his edition of Book XXXIII.), but neither of them seems to have made any use of it. It was collated by J. G. Seebode in 1835-8 (as is recorded on the flyleaf); but no results were published. It is, however, curious that Weissenborn in his second edition (1859),² though quoting Heerwagen as his sole source of information about the MS., which he calls *B*, cites its readings regularly not only in Book I., but in Book II. also, up to c. 22; after this only four or five scattered readings are cited. The source from which he ascertained these are not known; in any case, they are few and unimportant.³ Conway and Walters' apparatus will contain the first account of the MS. ever given which approaches completeness. It has now been examined at every point where any of the other MSS. show any variation of the least importance from one another, or where the text has been for any other reason the subject of discussion.

§ 2. The MS. (Conway and Walters' *B*) may be assigned from its writing to the late tenth or early eleventh century. It came, like most other Bamberg MSS., from the Dombibliothek, as the inscription on the flyleaf testifies, *Ad Bibliothecam Reverendissimi Capituli Bambergensis*. Some account of the history of this and the other Bamberg MSS. of Livy will be found in Traube, *Palaeographische Forschungen*, IV. Teil (München, 1904). It used to be assumed that the 'duos libros Titi Liuii,' or, as it originally stood, 'Titi Liuii non minimam partem,' which are mentioned in an eleventh-century catalogue of the books of Otto III., 'quos placentiae inuenit sibi seruatos,'⁴ found on the blank page of a medical MS. (L. III. 8 in the Bamberg Library)

¹ *Sollemnia Anniversaria in Gymnasio Regio Baruthino*, Baruthi, 1856.

² Preface, pp. lxxvi, xcii.

³ I have noted the following errors: ii. 5. 1, he cites *B* as reading *ibi*, whereas it omits all from 2. 8 to 5. 3 (v. inf.): ii. 5. 10 he gives *B*'s reading as *uindicias*, where it is really *uindiciae*.

⁴ Traube gives further details, partly con-

jectural, of the romantic history of these works, which seem to have been collected by John, Bishop of Placentia (Anti-Pope in 997, and then put to death by Otto); Traube supposes John to have been formerly Otto's tutor. They descend to (St.) Heinrich II., whose name is great in the history of Bamberg: he bequeathed his library to the chapter on his death in 1024.

et quodammodo locis et feris urris quoniam in
 celibus in quorum magnitudine in partibus erat populi aduen-
 habita nequaquam aut peccatis ingenuis quod simulati ad eadem fuerat aut
 libidines excitantur in deceptis infando lucretiae et miserabiliter de
 tate in capiti cum morte filiae causamortis indignis aemiseratior
 aditum superius regis miseriaeque est hanc plebis infatigabilem exbau-
 riendas demerere Romanos homines victoris omnium circum populo opificeracta
 et probellatoribus factor indigna seruituti regis memorata ac de-
 sedimnetta corpore patris nefandorum ueniale filia Inuocatur utroque
 delis his atrocioribus querele aliis presentem rerum indignitas haudquaquam
 relatus scribitoribus faciliatubere memoratis incerta multitudine pauli
 et impetuum regis abrogare exulere et uheres et tanquam inuocatur
 ipse inuocatur qui uultu non in adabant letis armatis ad conuocandi inde ad
 uersus regem exercitu ardeat incerta profectus imperio inurbeluctu pfecto
 ubi iam ante breue instituitur elinquit Inter haec inuocatur tullia inuocatur
 exulante quacumque incedebat Inuocatur quoparentis furias uirum mulierum
 quoniam uerum nuncius inuocatur ipse cum renoua tropis expetit romam ad
 primos demerit fluxum bruius sentit cum aduentu nequius fieret eadeq
 firmatorem diuersis incertis bruius ardeat tanquam inuocatur et uheres Tanquam
 claus perone exulante inuocatur liberaat et ubi inuocatur deceptis Exulante
 indeliberat regis deo patrem sautisunt quicquid erat in opus ac uerit
 Secutus tanquam gubius tanquam in sui regni profectus abuloribus ueritum
 simulacrum quassibi ipse adib. papinam concitatur et emittitur et tanquam
 superbus regnauit inuocatur et Regnat romae ab omni urbe adlibitatem
 annos et alium Duo consules inde comitatur centuriatur apfecit urbis exommentatur
 et nulli cepit sunt Luniu bruius educit tanquam inuocatur conlatinus

TITI LII AB ABFCOD LIBER I EXPLICIT
 INCIPIT LIB. II FELICITER Victorianus emendabam dominus Symmachus
 ibi tam hinc populi romani per pace bellum gestus annos magnitudo impe-
 rium legum potentiora quam hominum pagam quaelibet aris laetior sed prius
 inuocatur supra coram prius inuocatur in audimur et in omni deinceps
 et inuocatur parui coram urbis quassit inuocatur abstruere multitudine addi
 et inuocatur numeratur Nequa ambigit quinquatrus idem quinquatrus

LIVY I. 59. 7—II I. 3.

Reproduced from Cod. Bamberg. M. iv. 8.

(Scale about 1 in 4 superficial.)

were our own *B* and the more famous Bamberg MS. of the fourth decade. But Traube shows (*op. cit.* pp. 11 sqq.) that one of them at any rate would be the sixth-century uncial archetype of the fourth-decade MS., of which fragments were discovered in 1904 at Bamberg by Oberbibliothekar Fischer. Possibly the other may have been the lost archetype of our *B*, from which, as we shall see, the Codex Floriacensis (*F*), which, save the Veronese fragment, is our oldest MS. of the first Decade, was also copied.

§ 3. Our MS. is written in single column, 33 lines to a page (in the 5th quaternion only 31), and contains 112 folios in 14 quaternions, numbered I to XIV—the last three also lettered F, G, H—breaking off at the foot of the last page with the words *trepido agmine inciderunt*, VII. 17. 3. The last pages are very badly worm-eaten, quite as much as the first pages; and it is at least possible that no more of the MS. than we now possess ever existed; though the colophon which stands at the foot of the last page, *Tituli* (sic!) *ab urbe condita*, is no argument for this, being in a later hand than the text. At least three hands were employed upon *B*. I have not, however, noticed any marked difference among the scribes in accuracy. The best and neatest is that which wrote the sixth quaternion, foll. 41-48, containing II. 56. 2 to III. 25. 5. In this part the words are hardly divided from one another at all. All the scribes of *B* seem to have been anxious to save parchment. This one, for instance, finishes Book II. two lines from the foot of the page, but crowds his 'Incipit feliciter' into the end of the line (cutting down 'feliciter' into 'feliter' to make it fit), and begins Book III. on the same page. In the third part of the MS., fol. 49, III. 25. 5 to end, written in another and not so neat a hand, the overcrowding is at times still worse. Some lines contain as many as 117 letters: in this part (not in the others) an extra half or quarter line is often found at the foot of the page, outside the regular alignment. On fol. 60^r, lines 4, 5, there are ten examples of the open *a* in two lines: I have noticed two other examples on foll. 60^v, 108, but have not seen it elsewhere in the MS. In *F*, on the other hand (which is, of course, assigned to an earlier date), the open *a* is very frequent. On fol. 62^v, l. 28, there is an interesting siglum *rx* for *respondit* (IV. 6. 2): Lindsay (*Contractions in Latin Minuscule MSS.*, pp. 3-4, 10) says that in the eleventh century this siglum was only used in legal formulae. Yet another scribe wrote foll. 1-40 to II. 56. 2. His hand is the coarsest; he divides his words more than the others do, and often divides them wrong.

§ 4. A peculiarity of this first part is the existence of marginalia all apparently in the same hand and ink as the text. They are mostly summaries or headings of the ordinary type: nothing in the way of comment or criticism is ventured upon, except 'mira descriptio,' opposite the account of the battle of the Horatii and Curiatii, I. 25 (so again, II. 5-6). They get fewer and fewer, and cease altogether after fol. 26 (II. 15). Among the marginal summaries are other marginalia of a different character—words which occur in the text are written in its margin opposite their place, usually in capitals

and in an abbreviated form; e.g. its first is fol. 11^r, l. 1, *MERC* referring evidently to *mercato* on the last line of the previous page. Then on the same page we have *LAP* for *lapidibus*, fol. 12^v *R* for *regum* (?). On fol. 19^v *INCESSIT*, fol. 22^v *INCESSUNT* are written in full (in the latter place the word in the text is *incessit* II. 7. 1). And in some cases its words are written in full in minuscule: fol. 17^v *Inuectus*, 18 *enīuef*, 20 *Inopinato*, 22^v *parma*, 23^v *comparant* (text *comparandū*). The words (apart from those already mentioned) represented by abbreviations in capitals in the margin are: fol. 13, *augur*: 21, *lapicidas*, *abrogaret*, *exactique*: 22, *inuectis*, *deligati*: 26 (the last marginale of any kind), *distineat* (*DISTIN*). On 24^v *RITAS* (all that can be read) seems to refer to *caritate*. — Urlichs (*Eos*, I. 1, pp. 84 sqq.), who noticed these marks, suggests that they refer to words which stood at the top of a page or column of *B*'s archetype. But the intervals at which they occur are so completely irregular that this does not seem likely: and on fol. 21^r there are three within thirteen lines. On the other hand, they are not all rare words of the kind that we might expect to have been specially noted for a glossary. They might, however, be simply lemmata for a commentary. A note like that in *P* (v. inf.), fol. 7^r, *FASTI ET NEF. D*, opposite *nefastos dies fastosque* (N.B. neglect of order and case) strongly favours this view.

§ 5. Turning over the leaves of the tenth-century Paris MS. (*P*, Bibl. Nat. 5725 Lat.) on a recent visit to that city, I discovered that the marginalia of *B* seem to correspond, as far as they go, exactly with those of *P*. (*F*, on the other hand, though *B*'s own twin, seems to have no correspondence with it in this respect: it has few marginalia of any kind.) The marginalia of *P* may be divided into three classes: (1) Corrections of the text by *P*² or later correctors. Of course *B* has nothing corresponding to this. (2) Marginal summaries, almost always in the same hand and ink as the text, though one or two have been added by later hands. Wherever I have notes of the marginal summaries of *B*, I find the same to exist in *P*. Photographs of three pages of *B*, foll. 6^v, 7^r, and 21^r, corresponding to within a few lines with the folia similarly numbered in *P*, show how close the correspondence is. The *Unde Interregnum* of *P*, fol. 6^v (top), does not show in *B* (though it might conceivably be at the bottom of the previous page); otherwise, except for trifling errors such as *B*'s *Laus mammae* (sic) for the *Laus numae* of *P*, the headings or summaries are identical. It seems fair therefore to presume that no heading occurs in *B* which is not also to be found in *P*. Such summaries in *P* are very infrequent (though they do occur here or there) in Book II. after the point at which those of *B* cease; and seem hardly to be found in later books, except in Book IV., where, for some reason, they are regular. (3) Repetitions in the margin of words in the text, usually, though not always, abbreviated and in capitals, answering to those noted above in *B*. Every note of this kind which occurs in *B* (except the *R* of fol. 12^v, which is in any case a doubtful example) is to be found in the corresponding place in *P*. But in *P* there are a great many more of them; not only are there many

additional examples within that part of the first two books in which they are to be found in *B*; but they are continued, though perhaps with diminishing frequency, throughout the whole MS. What is especially interesting, perhaps, is that these notes, as distinct from the ordinary marginal summaries, are nearly all in an ink perceptibly paler than that of the text. This is the characteristic mark of the corrector of *P* called *P*² by Conway and Walters: and their Notes show that wherever *P* differs from *FB* the corrections of *P*², where such exist, tend to bring it into line with them. Professor Walters observes that the discovery about the marginalia would seem to fit very well with the view that the corrector *P*² had before him the archetype from which *F* was copied, and from which, later, *B* was drawn.

§ 6. Our MS. represents the 'northern tradition' of the Nicomachean text. Its similarity to the Parisinus (*P*), the chief northern MS., was at once obvious to Heerwagen. In his time the other Paris MS. of the first decade, *F*, was unexplored. *F* has the distinction of seniority, but its value has been woefully lessened by its correctors. Now *B* has been found to be the twin of *F*. That it is not a copy of *F* is certain, since in III. 44. 1 (*urbe nefas . . . Lucretiae*), in III. 64. 3 (*Quid . . . adorti essent*), in V. 31. 4 (*in fuga*), in VII. 12. 8 (*res*), words and phrases omitted in *F* are found in *B*. But their close relationship will be evident on the most cursory inspection of Professor Conway's critical apparatus. To take one instance out of hundreds: II. 47. 12, the reading of all other MSS. is *salubri reip. parte*: but Gruter's conjecture, *reipublicae arte*, made before either *F* or *B* had been heard of, has now been confirmed by *reiparte* having been found in both.

§ 7. *B* has in common with *F* the large lacuna in Book IV. 21. 6—50. 4, which in *F* occurs between two pages, in *B* in the middle of a line. Peculiar to *B* is a lacuna in Book II. 2. 8, *eadem multis*—5. 3, *eis hominum*. Like *F*, *B* contains only one Nicomachean subscription, the 'Victorianus emendabam dominis symmachis' at the end of the first book.

§ 8. In the part of the text contained in *B* there are 49 places in which the original reading of *F* is unknown,¹ and at least 123 in which it is more or less hypothetical. The great value of *B* is that it enables us to reconstitute in these places the text of the common archetype of *BF*. E.g., in I. 19. 6 Professor Conway has been enabled by *B* to restore for the first time the true reading, *desuntque sex dies* (written in *B* *des qui dies*). This was overlooked by Heerwagen. *F*'s corrector, like the scribes of all other extant MSS., has not understood what he took for the relative, and so in *F* there is an erasure of two letters before *dies*. In no other MS. is there any trace of the numeral at all. A few other instances are: III. 28. 9 (*is ignominiam infensus addidit*) *infensus HRn?* *Dald: insensus ML: incensus PUpBOD*⁴—in *F*

¹ They are: I. 5. 6, 18. 9, 19. 6, 23. 9, II. 6. 2, 3. 12, 6. 3, 7. 1, 7. 7, 13. 2, 15. 7, 19. 2, 58. 13, 6. 4, 61. 3, III. 11. 11, 12. 4 (*bis*), 14. 6, 16. 4, 59. 6, 61. 4, V. 3. 4, 4. 8, 6. 7, 36. 9, 40. 4, 44. 1, 18. 3, 18. 11, 28. 9, 29. 5, 34. 8, 35. 2 (*bis*), 35. 5, 53. 2, VI. 1. 3, 13. 7, 18. 1, 42. 2, 42. 14, 35. 7, 40. 12, 48. 1, 49. 3, 51. 8, 52. 2, IV. 2. 7,

the word has been entirely lost in the erasure. III. 40. 12, *decemuirum* (gen. pl.) *ipse* scil. *unus* (cf. IX. 34. 1; XXVII. 8. 4) *MPBRnDL*: *decemuir ipse UpOHRn²D^x*—in *F* the noun is completely erased. V. 44. 1, *eguit* (rightly) is given by Upsaliensis: *ego id P²B*: *egit MF³OHDLA*—in *F* all but the letters *eg* . . has perished in the erasure and correction made by *F³*.

§ 9. Of the 122 places where the corrector has only partially succeeded in obliterating what stood in *F* and where the symbol *F?* is used in Conway and Walters' critical notes, *B* confirms the reading suggested for *F* in 86 cases and differs from it in 36.¹ I have myself examined *F* at some of the most important of these points, specially for the purpose of comparison with *B*. E.g., II. 34. 12, *Haud tam facile dictu est* is the reading of *UpRn*. Apart from *F*, all other MSS. and *B* have *dictum est*, which is kept by Alschevski. In *F* the state of the parchment-surface makes it just possible (though very doubtful) that a contraction-stroke may have originally stood above the *u* and been erased. This hypothesis is favoured by the report of *B*. In IV. 2. 3, *maximum Romae praemium seditionum esse*; *ideo* < *eas* > *singulis uniuersisque semper honori fuisse*, *MPUpBOHDLA*¹ have *id et singulis*. *Ideo* was the conjecture of Weissenborn, *eas* is the insertion of Conway and Walters.² In *F*, the three letters which follow *id*- are joined together in such a way as to make it doubtful whether they really are *et s*, and it is suggested that *F* has *ideo*. The centre letter of the three, however, seems too triangular to be an *o*, and *B*'s reading is an additional argument for Weissenborn's originality. In § 11 (according to Conway and Walters' arrangement; otherwise § 4) of the same chapter *quem ad modum plebs gloriari posset*, it is thought that *F* may possibly have had *gloriaretur*, as in the *gloriari possent* of *F³* the last word and the latter part of the first are written somewhat closely over an erasure. But *B* agrees with *F³*, *gloriari possent*. V. 27. 11, *Fides Romana, iustitia imperatoris . . . celebrantur* is the reading of *MPF^xUpOEHLA*, and, almost certainly, of *F* himself, although it has been overwritten in blacker ink by *F^x*: *B* here exhibits (with *Ver.*) a genuine difference, *celebratur*. V. 47. 2, *saxo in adscensum aequo* is the emendation of Heraeus. In *F* the *-u* of *ascensu* has been overwritten by its corrector, and there seems to be an erasure after (not above) it, but perhaps hardly large enough to have held a normal-sized *m*. *B*, with *MPH²*, has *ascensu*.

§ 10. Turning to those passages in which there is no doubt of *F*'s reading, we find the comparison between *F* and *B* no longer so favourable to the latter: *B* is clearly a less accurate copy of the archetype, and acquires merit beyond its twin solely through having escaped correction. Of 290 places in which *FB* differ (of course the number of cases in which they agree is enormously larger) there are only 85 in which the difference is in *B*'s favour.

¹ I. 11. 8, 17. 2, 28. 4, 56. 1, 56. 11, II. 10. 5, 18. 3, 18. 11, 24. 5, 27. 2, 34. 12, 39. 3, 52. 5, III. 9. 1, 11. 12, 12. 4, 12. 5, 19. 1, 45. 2, 56. 9, IV. 2. 3, 2. 11 (*bis*), 2. 13, 3. 10, 7. 9-10, 12. 8,

13. 13, 19. 2, 58. 6, V. 18. 1, 27. 11, 47. 2, 47. 7, 47. 9, VI. 2. 10.

² See their article, *C. Q.* v. (1911), p. 5.

Apart from the places mentioned above, in which *B* supplies lacunae in *F*, we may quote as instances: II. 26. 1, *B* with *MP* *in urbem* (*nuntiatum est*), *F* and other MSS. *in urbe*. III. 19. 4 (the tribunes conducted themselves), *ut in perditā domo*. *B* alone with *Ver.* and *D*³ has *domo*, all other MSS. the blunder *modo* (*perditā* being taken to agree with *lingua*, the word following). III. 19. 12, *Nescio quo fato magis bellantes quam pacati propitios habemus deos*. *B* with *Ver.* *P*² *UpO* has *fato*, *F* and all other MSS. *facto* (which *F*³ has 'corrected' to *pacto*). VI. 9. 10, *porta . . . quae una forte non obsidebatur*, *B* has *forte*, *F* *fronte*. In II. 56. 2, *permissurum HRnDL administraturum P²F ? O, B*, along with *Vorm.MPU^p*, has preserved both readings side by side, *administraturum permissurum*.

§ 11. There is seldom evidence of any conscious attempt on *B*'s part to amend the archetype, though we may quote: II. 7. 10, *adeone*] *adeon F.*: *adeo non PU^pB*; III. 67. 11, *submouit*] *subuit F*: *subcubuit B*; VI. 14. 13, *differenti . . . dicenti F^{1al}* (*differenti . . . dicendi F ?*); *differendi . . . dicendi B¹*, *differenti . . . dicendi B*. [*F*¹=the first hand in *F* correcting himself.]

§ 12. I have to express my heartiest thanks to Dr. Fischer, Kgl. Oberbibliothekar, and Drs. Plöbst and Müller, Kustodes of the Royal Library at Bamberg, for their kindness and help, both when I was working in the library and afterwards in ascertaining for me some further readings of *B* required to make the account complete. I need hardly say how grateful I am to Professor Conway and Professor Walters for their help at every point, especially to the former, to whom I owe the opportunity of making acquaintance with the manuscript.

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IN MEMORIAM.

The writer of this paper, Alastair Hope Kyd, Assistant Lecturer in the University of Manchester, and formerly scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, was engaged in making a few final additions to it, when he was seized by an illness which ended fatally only five days later (April 26, 1914). This has been his only complete contribution to scholarship, and he was able to send it to the Editors in its present form; but the duty of seeing it through the press has fallen to me. At one point (p. 250, line 12 from foot) I sought to supplement Mr. Kyd's notes by direct information from Bamberg, but by the lamentable outbreak of war in Europe we are now cut off from the kind help of Herr Fischer.

Even the readers of this paper, to whom Mr. Kyd was a stranger, will realise how bright a promise has been cut short. His colleagues at Manchester and his many friends mourn the loss of a frank, unselfish, and singularly lovable comrade.

R. S. C.

NOTES ON OVID'S *IBIS, EX PONTO LIBRI, AND
HALIEVTICA.*

IBIS 131-132

quam dolor hic umquam spatio euanescere possit,
leniat aut odium tempus et hora meum.

Here 'spatio' means 'lapse of time': it is illustrated by *A. A. II. 113*
forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos,
fit minor et spatio carpitur ipsa suo.

As regards the whole couplet, besides at this place, it is found also after line 40 in all the MSS. except the Galeanus Vaticanus and Phillipps MS. There, though it fits in with the context, it is not required: here (after 130) it is indispensable. It should therefore be omitted from the text after line 40, where its presence is due to that species of interpolation which consisted in the insertion of other portions of a writer's work kindred in meaning, on which see Mr. Hall's *Companion to Classical Texts*, p. 198.

IBIS 137-140

tecum bella geram : nec mors mihi finiet iras,
saeua sed in Manis Manibus arma dabit.
tum quoque, cum fuero uacuas dilapsus in auras,
exanguis mores oderit umbra tuos.

These two couplets are closely connected in sense, and should not be separated from one another by such transposition as Mr. Housman has introduced into the text in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. In the first couplet Ovid says that death will not end his wrath, but will furnish his spirit with merciless arms against the spirit of his enemy. This idea is repeated in the next couplet with redundancy characteristic of Ovid. Heinsius' emendation 'dabit' is preferable to 'dabo,' the reading of the MSS., because Death is the subject and efficient factor in the sentence. 'Dabo' originated through assimilation to the termination of 'fuero' in the next line, and possibly of 'ero' in line 144. This class of error is treated by Mr. Hall, *l.c.*, p. 174. The forms of this verb are often confused in MSS. Thus at *ex P. I. 2. 90*

meque minus, uitam cui dabat ipse, capi,

'dabat,' restored by conjecture by Merkel, is right because it accounts for the reading of the three best MSS., 'dabit,' for which the rest have 'dedit.'

IBIS 289-90

utque parum mitis, sed non inpune, Prometheus
aerias uolucres sanguine fixus alas.

Here 'parum mitis' has caused trouble. Ellis translates, 'whose ill-adventured philanthropy': but this meaning cannot be extracted from 'parum.' Ehwald (*Jahresbericht* XXXI. 190) says: 'ich glaube das *parum mitis* ist wie das folgende *sed non inpune* zeigt, auf die Schuld des Pr., zu beziehen und auf seine *αὐθαδία*': that is to say, it refers to the defiant character of Prometheus, who was not sufficiently disposed to yield to Zeus. This seems to me to force the meaning of *mitis*, which means 'gentle' (εὔνους) rather than 'yielding, meek' (τάπεινος).

I propose to read 'parum inmitis.' Prometheus was not, like Zeus, *inmitis* to mankind, but was considerate (Aesch. *P. V.* 10, ὥς ἂν διδαχθῇ τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα | στέργειν, φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τρόπον. 445 λέξω δὲ, μέμψιν οὔτιν' ἀνθρώποις ἔχων, | ἀλλ' ὦν δέδωκ' εὔνοιαν ἐξηγούμενος); whereas Zeus was an insolent monarch, cruel towards mankind. 'Miserable and brutish as their state was, he would take no heed of them; but was even ready to sweep away their whole race' (Prickard, Aesch. *P. V.* p. vi). The error is due to haplography: the 'in' of 'inmitis' disappeared beside the 'um' of 'parum,' as in *Iuu.* XI. 106

ac nudam effigiem in clipeo uenientis et hasta

the 'in' (inserted by Valesius) disappeared beside the 'm' of 'effigiem.' A good instance from Ovid is quoted by Mr. Hall, *l.c.*, p. 190, *ex P. I.* 4. 35

nos fragili ligno uastum sulcauimus aequor:

quae tulit Aesoniden, densa carina fuit.

Here, for 'densa' the Hamburgensis, our best MS., has 'sa,' which was misinterpreted as a contraction, and gave rise to the pointless reading 'sacra' found in many MSS., and interpolated from *I.* 3. 76. It is clear that 'densa,' preserved by the excerpta Scaligeri, is the right word, for it supplies the antithesis required to 'fragili.' 'Densa carina,' a 'solid ship,' is like Lucan's 'densus murus' (*Phars.* III. 491) and like Homer's πυκινὸς δόμος.

For 'parum' cp. 521, 'parum stabili carmine'; *ex P. II.* 10. 15, 'Naso parum prudens'; III. 2. 80, 'parum fausta puppe'; for 'inmitis' cp. *Met.* XIII. 739, 'genus haud inmite uirorum.'

IBIS 307-308

aut pia te caeso dicatur adultera, sicut
qua cecidit Leucon uindice dicta pia est.

This Leucon appears to have been a son of Paerisades, king of Bosphorus, and himself to have been king of Bosphorus in the third century B.C. See Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (1913), p. 581.

IBIS 413-416

qualis Achaemenidae, Siculo desertus in Aetna
Troica cum uidit uela uenire, fuit,
qualis erat nec non fortuna binominis Iri,
quique tenent pontem, † que tibi † maior erit.

So the last pentameter stands in the MSS., except that for 'que' the Galeanus has 'qui,' the Bodleian Can. Lat. 20 'qua'; the last MS. also has the extraordinary reading 'maphor' for 'maior.'

Most editors mark the line as corrupt, and no satisfactory solution has been proposed. I believe that 'maior' is an interpolation which arose from line 412

euenient aut his non leuiora malis.

The error is due to what Havet calls the suggestion of the context (*Manuel de Critique Verbal*, ch. XXV). It was felt that, as there, so in this line, a comparative was wanted. But what is wanted is the correlative to balance 'qualis.' I read

quique tenent pontem, uae tibi talis erit.

The construction is: 'qualis fortuna Achaemenidae fuit, et qualis erat fortuna Iri qualisque est eorum fortuna qui tenent pontem [beggars], talis uae! tibi fortuna erit.' For the omission of the antecedent 'eorum' before 'qui' cp. 295

nec tibi fida magis misceri pocula possint
quam (ei) qui cornigero de Ioue natus erat.

259

nec plus aspicias quam (is) quem sua filia rexit.

Iuu. I. 161

accusator erit (ei) qui uerbum dixerit 'hic est.'

For the use of 'uae' absolute, cp. 203

tot tibi uae misero uenient talesque ruinae.

Am. III. 6. 101

huic ego uae demens narrabam fluminum amores.

IBIS 445-446

et quae Pitthides fecit fraterque Medusae
eueniant capiti uota sinistra tuo.

So I think the couplet should be read. 'Pitthides' is the conjecture of Salvagnius for 'Penthides' and other corruptions in the MSS. 'Fraterque Medusae' is the reading of the Galeanus, Phillipps and Paris MSS., and is preferable to the obscure 'de fratre Medusae' of the rest, accepted by Ellis. I may note in passing that this is one of the passages in which Ellis deserted the reading of the Galeanus in spite of the importance which he assigned to it. In the readings 137, 'tecum bella geram,' and 468, 'Dexionesque,' its excellence is undoubted.

Pitthides is Theseus, the grandson of Pittheus, the father of his mother

Aethra. The 'frater Medusae' is Eurystheus: Apollodorus II. 4. 5, *Σθενέλου δὲ καὶ Νικίππης τῆς Πέλοπος Ἀλκινόη καὶ Μέδουσα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐγένετο, ὃς καὶ Μυκηνῶν ἐβασίλευσεν*. The reference is to the curses imprecated by Theseus against Hippolytus (Eur. *Hipp.* 887, foll. Cic. *Off.* III. 25, 94), and the evil wishes expressed against Hercules by Eurystheus when he dispatched him to perform his labours. Cf. *Heroid.* IX. 7

hoc uelit Eurystheus, uelit hoc germana Tonantis.

For the expression 'uota facere' cp. *ex P.* I. 6. 38,

atque aliquis pendens in cruce uota facit.

II. 5. 6, 'ut faciam talia uota.'

IBIS 509-510

lapsuramque domum subeas, ut sanguis Aleuae,
stella Leoprepidae cum fuit aequa uiro.

Here 'Leoprepidae' is the certain emendation of Scaliger for 'leotepide' and other corruptions in the MSS. It is universally accepted. Leoprepides is Simonides (Simonid. fr. 146 and 147). It is with the rest of the pentameter that I am concerned.

'Sanguis Aleuae' is Scopas, one of the Aleuadae, who lived at Crannon in Thessaly. The story of the escape of Simonides from death by the intervention of the Dioscuri, when the house of Scopas collapsed, burying its owner in the ruins, is told by Cicero, *de Or.* II. 352: 'Dicunt enim, cum cenaret Crannone in Thessalia Simonides apud Scopam fortunatum hominem et nobilem cecinissetque id carmen, quod in eum scripsisset, in quo multa ornandi causa poetarum more in Castorem scripta et Pollucem fuissent, nimis illum sordide Simonidi dixisse se dimidium eius ei, quod pactus esset, pro illo carmine daturum; reliquum a suis Tyndaridis, quos aequae laudasset [cp. Phaedrus IV. 25, 9], peteret, si ei uideretur. paulo post esse ferunt nuntiatum Simonidi, ut prodiret; iuuenis stare ad ianuam duo quosdam, qui eum magno opere euocarent; surrexisse illum, prodisse, uidisse neminem: hoc interim spatio conclaue illud, ubi epularetur Scopas, concidisse; ea ruina ipsum cum cognatis oppressum suis interisse.'

'Stella' is usually explained as the constellation of the Dioscuri, Gemini. So Micyllus, followed by Salvagnius, Ellis, Ehwald, *Jahresb.* CIX. (1902), p. 287. This explanation is unsatisfactory, for the function of that constellation would appear to have been to promote unity among friends (Manil. II. 629, 'quosque dabunt Chelae Geminique et Aquarius ortus, | unum pectus habent fideique immobile uinclum'), or to save from shipwreck mariners in distress (Hor. *Carm.* IV. 8. 31, 'clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis | quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates'). I do not find that its function was to rescue persons from collapsing houses. Moreover, in the story as told by Cicero and other authorities, Valerius Maximus (I. 8, extern. 7), Phaedrus (IV. 25), Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* XI. 2. 11), and as referred to by Callimachus in lines put

into the mouth of Simonides (fr. 71, Schneider, p. 224), we are told nothing about the constellation of the Dioscuri. It is the Dioscuri themselves who appear miraculously in human form, as 'iuuenes duo' in Cicero, as 'duo iuuenes' in Valerius, as 'duo iuuenes sparsi puluere' in Phaedrus, as 'duo iuuenes equis aduecti' in Quintilian.

Equally unsatisfactory is the conjecture of Mr. Housman, which he has introduced into the text of the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*—'stella Iouis.' He quotes in support of it Hor. *Carm.* II. 17. 22, 'te Iouis impio | tutela Saturno refulgens | eripuit.' There Horace speaks of the benign star of Jupiter in conflict with the malign star of Saturn, intervening to save Maecenas from a dangerous illness. But what has the star of Jupiter here to do with Simonides?

The text requires not emendation, but elucidation. 'Stella' I understand to mean Simonides' own natal star, the star of his good fortune, which rose above the horizon at the moment of his birth. Some were born under an unlucky, some, as presumably Simonides, under a lucky star. Iuu. vii. 194

distat enim quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere uagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
si Fortuna uolet, fies de rhetore consul;
si uolet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?

Cp. Manil. III. 58 foll. The influence of the natal star is often referred to: so of Ibis Ovid says, 208

natus es infelix, ita di uoluere, nec ulla
commoda nascenti stella leuisue fuit.

Other passages are *Heroid.* viii. 88, 'quodue mihi miserae sidus obesse querar?' *Trist.* V. 10. 45, 'o duram Lachesin, quae tam graue sidus habenti | fila dedit uitae non breuiora meae!' Prop. I. 6. 36, 'uiuere me duro sidere certus eris.' II. 27. 4, 'quae sit stella homini commoda quaeque mala.' On the influence of opposing stars see Ovid *Am.* I. 8. 27 foll.; Persius V. 50.

As regards 'uiro' this word is emphatic, 'the illustrious man,' as in Lucret. III. 371, 'Democriti quod sancta uiri sententia ponit'; as to which expression Mr. Housman appropriately says that this Lucretius can write, 'because *uiri* means a right worthy man, like *ἀνδρός* in Soph. *Ajax* 817 and elsewhere (*Classical Review* XV. 264).' I concur, and think that to alter 'uiro' in this line of the *Ibis* is superfluous. For the substantive in apposition to the patronymic cp. *Ibis* 543, 'puer Harpagides.'

EX PONTO I. i. 65-66

mors faciet certe, ne sim, cum uenerit, exul:
ne non peccarim mors quoque non faciet.

So the MSS. except that for 'ne non' the Hamburgensis has 'nec non.'

Since Heinsius and Bentley the couplet has been generally condemned. It is true that it repeats the thought of the preceding line

poena potest demi, culpa perennis erit,

and that the same thought is resumed 75-76

nec prius hi mentem stimuli quam uita relinquet :

quique dolet, citius quam dolor ipse, cadet :

but that it is superfluous is no argument against it. Ovid being 'nimium amator ingenii sui' (Quintil. I. 10. 88) is full of redundancy, and the genuineness of the couplet is rightly asserted by Schreuders (*Observationes in Ouidii ex Ponto, Libros I.-III.* Lugd. Bat. 1895, p. 11). Groundless exception has been taken to the trisyllabic verb at the end of the pentameter, for in the Pontic Epistles Ovid does permit himself to end with trisyllabic verbs: I. 8. 40, 'liceat'; III. 5. 40, 'recitent'; 6. 46, 'uideor'; IV. 9. 26, 'tegeret' (see Ehwald, *Krit. Beiträge*, p. 11).

The real crux is 'ne non,' which makes Ovid say the direct opposite of what he means: 'Even death will not cause me not to have not sinned'= 'Even death will not cause me to have sinned,' for the doubled negatives destroy one another. Schreuders defends the expression as a negligence of language, and quotes what Ovid says *ex P. III. 9. 17*

saepe aliquod uerbum cupiens mutare reliqui

iudicium uires destituuntque meum.

But Ovid cannot have been so negligent as to have failed to distinguish a negative from an affirmative.

Comparing *A. A. II. 101*

non facient, ut uiuat amor, Medeides herbae,

and *ex P. II. 2. 24*

non tamen efficies ut timeare mihi,

I believe that the genuine reading is 'ut non peccarim.' This is supported by the fact that in the Munich MS. 19476, one of the three best MSS., 'ut' is written by the second hand above 'ne' (Korn, *De codd. duobus carm. Ouid. ex P.*, p. 6). The variant may have found its way in through collation with some early MS. The substitution of 'ne' for 'ut' in our MSS. was due to the 'ne' in the preceding line. This is what Havet calls an error due to 'suggestion d'un mot antérieur' (*Manuel de Critique Verbale*, § 496). Reading 'ut' the meaning is: 'Assuredly death, when it comes, will set an end to my exile: even death will not obliterate my offence.'

EX PONTO I. 7. 21-22

quis se Caesaribus notus non fingit amicum ?

da ueniam fasso : tu mihi Cæsar eras.

So the Hamburgensis, and some MSS., while the Munich MSS. and others, have 'eris.' 'Eras' is preferable, meaning 'at the time when I wrote the

compliments that gave you offence, you were my Caesar.' This offence is mentioned line 17

me miserum, si tu uerbis offenderis istis,
nosque negas ulla parte fuisse tuos!

The flattery by which Ovid speaks of Messalinus as held by him in equal reverence with his sovereign is paralleled by I. 9. 49, where, addressing Celsus, he says that his patron Maximus Cotta was revered by him as if he were a god ('quem tu pro numine uiuus habebas').

EX PONTO I. 7. 65-66

idque facis, quantumque licet meminisse, solebas
officii † causa pluribus esse † dari.

So the Hamburgensis and Munich MS. 384. For 'dari' the other MSS. have 'dati.'

The pentameter is so obviously corrupt that Korn rejected it altogether from the text. Various unsuccessful attempts at emendation have been made. The point is that Messalinus is advised to beseech the gods that he may confer more benefits than he has received, which in fact is what he does. To confer rather than to return a favour is what matters. For the unmetrical 'causa' a few MSS. and some editions have 'causam,' which cannot grammatically be construed as predicate after 'solebas.' And yet such a predicate is wanted. This difficulty is removed by Dr. Purser's neat emendation, 'causae' (he reads 'causae—dati'; see Keene, *ad loc.*). Ehwald (*Jahresbericht* LXXX. p. 113) objects to 'causae,' thus used as predicative dative as unovidian. It certainly cannot be defended by *Am.* II. 6. 31

nux erat esca tibi causaeque papauera somni,

doubtfully quoted by Roby, *L. Gr.* II. p. xlii, for in that line 'causae' must be the same case as 'esca,' viz. nominative plural. Parallel uses of 'causae' as predicative dative from other writers are quoted by Roby. But as Ovid can say *ex P.* II. 1. 4

iam minus hic odio est, quam fuit ante, locus

it is clear that he could have used 'causae' as predicative dative.

Accepting therefore Dr. Purser's 'causae,' I propose to read

officii causae pluribus esse datis,

'You are accustomed to be the occasion for devotion by reason of your conferring more gifts than you receive.' The thought goes back to line 64

ut des quam reddas plura precare deos.

As Cicero says, *Off.* I. § 48, there are 'duo genera liberalitatis, unum dandi beneficii, alterum reddendi.' I understand 'datis' as a substantive, like *Met.* VI. 462, 'nec non ingentibus ipsam sollicitare datis.'

EX PONTO II. 2. 31-38

tuta petant alii. fortuna miserrima tuta est :
 nam timor euentu deterioris abest.
 qui rapitur
 porrigit spinas dura quae saxa
 accipitremque timens pennis trepidantibus ales
 audet ad humanos fessa uenire sinus,
 nec se uicino dubitat committere tecto,
 quae fugit infestos territa cerua canes.

So the passage stands in our best MS., the Hamburgensis, except for the trifling error, 'infesto' for 'infestos.' The mutilated couplet, 'qui rapitur—saxa,' is omitted altogether in the two Munich MSS., though Munich 384 contains an obviously wrong supplement, added by a later hand

qui rapitur fatis quid praeter fata requirat ?
 saepe creat molles aspera spina rosas.

It is evident that the archetype of these three MSS. was here defaced, and partly illegible. The scribe of the Hamburgensis copied faithfully what he could read, leaving the couplet without metre or sense: the scribes of the Munich MSS. omitted altogether what they could not understand.

In line 32, 'euentu,' the reading of the Hamburgensis and one Munich MS. must be restored in place of the vulgate reading 'euentus' (Ehwald, *Kr. B.*, p. 16). Ovid says: 'The most miserable condition is secure, for it is free from the fear of one worse in its result.' The proposition that the lesser evil is preferable in the face of a still worse contingency is next enforced by three illustrations: (1) That contained in the mutilated couplet; (2) the hunted bird, which prefers to fall into human hands rather than into the clutches of the hawk; (3) the stag which, rather than be caught by the hounds, flees into a house.

Now it is characteristic of Ovid to exemplify a proposition by three illustrations. Thus, *ex P. II.* 5. 61

rusticus agricolam, miles fera bella gerentem,
 rectorem dubiae nauita puppis amat.

II. 7. 9

qui semel est laesus fallaci piscis ab hamo,
 omnibus unca cibis aera subesse putat.
 saepe canem longe uisum fugit agna lupumque
 credit, et ipsa suam nescia uitat opem.
 membra reformidant mollem quoque saucia tactum,
 uanaque sollicitis incutit umbra metum.

Thus in *Am. I.* 2. 9 the statement that it is best for one in love not to attempt resistance is exemplified by three illustrations: fire, which dies out if left undisturbed; oxen, which when tamed are beaten less than those which struggle before they have been tamed; and the unbroken horse, whose mouth

is galled more by the bit than when he has been broken. Thus in *A. A. II. 177* the statement that woman's heart must be won by gentleness, not by compulsion, is exemplified by three illustrations: the crooked branch, which may be straightened by patience, but is broken by the use of force; the swimmer, who succeeds by swimming with the stream; and wild animals, which are tamed by patience, not by force. Thus in the *Medicamina faciei* 37 the statement that simples are useless for the complexion is exemplified by three illustrations: spells cannot split snakes, nor make streams flow backward, nor bring down the moon.

I conclude therefore that the mutilated couplet cannot be dealt with by mere omission. It clearly contained the first in a series of three illustrations. Its missing portions are excellently restored in the version of it found in the Leipzig and Erfurt MSS.

qui rapitur spumante salo, sua brachia tendens
porrigit ad spinas duraque saxa manus.

For 'salo' the Erfurt MS. has 'freto.' If this be accepted, the first of Ovid's three illustrations is a man carried away by the surge, who prefers to clutch at thorns and rough rocks rather than be drowned.

I suspect that this couplet was preserved in some very ancient MS., which was collated by the scribes of the Leipzig and Erfurt MSS., who thence supplied it into their text. It is known that such collation of ancient MSS. did take place in the scriptoria. The preservation of the supplementary lines at Juvenal vi. 365 is due no doubt to this factor. The lines are preserved in the Oxford MS. alone, which was written in the Beneventan script, probably at Monte Cassino. It is probable that in that library some very early MS. of Juvenal was preserved containing these lines, which Leo plausibly argues formed part of the poet's first edition, and were suppressed in the second. The *Heroides* of Ovid offer further confirmation of this hypothesis. It has been pointed out by Vahlen (*Ueber die Anfänge der Heroiden des Ovid*) that whereas *Heroides* I, II, III, IV, XIII, XIV all begin with a couplet in which the name of the writer of the epistle is given, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII begin abruptly without mention of the writer. There are three chief MSS. of the *Heroides*; Parisinus, sec. xi, Guelferbytanus, sec. xii, both Frankish MSS., written in Caroline minuscules, and the Eton MS., sec. xi, written in the Beneventan script, probably at Monte Cassino. It is an extraordinary fact that the desiderated couplets, containing the writer's name, are supplied at the beginning of V, VI, VII in the Eton MS. I suggest that the scribe of the Eton MS. had access to some very early MS., such as may well have been preserved in a South Italian library, by collation with which he supplied these couplets.¹ It should also be mentioned that the missing couplets in VIII, IX, X, XI, XII are supplied in certain later MSS., which may have got them from a similar source. If these supplementary couplets be accepted, we

¹ I base this suggestion on the valuable essay p. 895. of P. von Winterfeld, *Gött. gel. Anzeige*, 1899,

have in the *Heroides* complete uniformity of structure, which is what we should expect to find in these elaborate poetical 'suasoriae,' which are composed methodically according to the strict rules of ancient rhetoric. It was easy for a couplet to fall out at the beginning of a poem: it may have been omitted, for instance, with a view to rubrication, and then have never been filled in: it may have been omitted at the beginning of V because the last line of IV and the first line of V both begin with 'Perlegis,' and at the beginning of XI, because the last line of X begins with 'si prius' and the first line of XI with 'siqua': it may have been omitted at the beginning of VI because the supplementary couplet begins with 'Lemnias,' and VI. 1 with 'Litora.'¹

EX PONTO II. 8. 53

Caesaris aduentu tuta gladiator harena
exit, et auxilium non leue uulnus habet.

For 'aduentu' the *Hamburgensis* has 'aduentum,' and for 'tuta' it has 'tota.'

Schreuders objects to 'aduentu' because he says that it is not recorded that on the arrival of Augustus at the podium gladiators were spared. He therefore accepts Riese's conjecture, 'ad nutum,' followed by Ehwald, who further proposes to alter 'tuta' to 'tincta,' 'the blood-stained sand,' comparing *Mart.* II. 75. 6, 'sanguineam humum.' But 'tincta' could not mean 'blood-stained' unless 'sanguine' were added. I think the passage is to be explained in the light of the statement of Suetonius, *Iul.* 26, 'gladiatores notos, sicubi infestis spectatoribus dimicarent, ni rapiendos reseruandosque mandabat,' and Seneca in *Anth. Lat.* P.L.M. (Baehrens) IV. 25, 27 (p. 66)

sperat et in saeua uictus gladiator harena,
sit licet infesto pollice turba minax.

Though the fate of the defeated gladiator depended generally on the people, the emperor might specially intervene to save him. This would only happen if the emperor was personally present.

It remains to consider the readings 'tuta' and 'tota.' 'Tota' is pointless, and will not do. 'Tuta' can only be explained as a case of transferred epithet, as Fabricius explained it, 'pro ipse gladiator tutus.' But as it would have been simpler to say 'tutus gladiator' outright, this seems peculiarly tortuous. Therefore I propose to read 'tuto,' the termination of which word was falsely assimilated to 'harena' by a species of error which is frequent, and has been treated by Havet, *Manuel de Critique Verbale*, ch. xxiv, and by Mr. Hall, *Companion*, p. 174. Ovid uses 'tuto' in *Am.* II. 14. 43; *Trist.* V. 10. 39.

¹ The supplementary couplets are given in and in Ehwald's Teubner text. Sedlmayer's critical edition, in Palmer's edition,

EX PONTO III. 3. 41

at non Chionides Eumolpus in Orphea talis.

Eumolpus was son of Posidon and Chione (Apollodor. III. 15. 4). Though in Chione the first syllable is short (Met. XI. 301), in Chionides it is lengthened through stress, according to the principle which I have illustrated, *Classical Quarterly*, VIII. 29.

EX PONTO III. 4. 89

inrita uotorum non sunt praesagia uatum.

Ehwald (*Kr. Beitr.* p. 48) justly defends 'uotorum' against alterations such as 'motorum' (Heinsius) and others which will be found recorded in my note in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. 'The prophecies,' says Ovid, 'of poets are not vain in respect of their prayers,' the things for which they pray. It should be pointed out that just as the words 'praesagia' and 'uatum' are picked up lower down in 'praedico' and 'uaticinor,' line 94

haec duce praedico uaticinorque deo,

so 'uotorum' is picked up in 'precor,' line 114:

uerba, precor, celeri nostra probate fide.

EX PONTO III. 4. 107-108

squalidus inmissos fracta sub harundine crines

Rhenus et infectas sanguine portet aquas.

So the text stands in some MSS. The Hamburgensis, which ends at III. 2. 67, is here wanting. For 'portet' the Munich MS. 384 has 'potat,' the Munich MS. 19476 'portat'; a few have 'portet,' accepted by Korn. Ehwald (*Kr. B.* p. 82), after successfully refuting the absurd conjecture of Merkel, 'porgat,' objects to 'portet' because he says that the verb required must fit both 'crines' and 'aquas,' which this does not. He proposes 'monstret.' A subjunctive is of course required. But I think that 'portet' is right. The image of the river-god exhibited in the triumph (Plin. *N. H.* V. 37; Tac. *A.* II. 41, 'ucta spolia, captiui, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum'), must have carried a vessel containing blood-stained water. Thus he is said to carry both his hair and this vessel.

EX PONTO III. 5. 49

hac ubi perueni nulli cernendus in urbem.

The Vulgate reading 'nulli' is preferable to that of the Munich MSS. 'nullis,' since the plural of 'nullus' as a substantive is very rare (Reisig, *Vorlesung. lat. Sprachw.* III², p. 73), though Ovid has *Met.* VIII. 172, 'nullis iterata priorum ianua.'

EX PONTO IV. 4. 27-34

cernere iam uideor rumpi paene atria turba,
 et populum laedi deficiente loco,
 templaque Tarpeiae primum tibi sedis adiri,
 et fieri faciles in tua uota deos,
 colla boues niueos certae praebere securi,
 quos aluit campis herba Falisca suis,
 cumque deos omnes, tunc hos inpensius, aequos
 esse tibi cupias, cum Ioue Caesar erunt.

Sextus Pompeius is addressed, who is entering at Rome on his consulship. In line 31 the asyndeton at 'colla,' for which 'collaque' is demanded by the context, is so awkward that Ehwald (*Kr. B.* p. 64) suggests that a couplet has fallen out after line 32, and that a new period begins at line 31. I propose as a less drastic remedy to read 'cerno' for 'certae' in line 31, thus providing a verb to introduce 'praebere.' 'Cerno,' 'I see in imagination,' is like 'uideo,' 'I see in imagination,' III. 5. 47

te nisi momentis uideo paene omnibus absens.

There is little point in the epithet 'certae,' which adjective is not elsewhere in Ovid applied to 'securis.' In *Met.* XV. 126, 'percussit colla securi.' *Fast.* IV. 415, 'apta iugo ceruix non est ferienda securi' there is no epithet. 'Certa' is common as applied to 'hasta' and 'sagitta' because one might miss with those weapons, but the sacrificial slaughterer would not be expected to miss his victim.

In line 33 I accept 'tunc hos' from Korn's Paris MS. 7993 in place of 'tum quos,' the reading of the rest, translating, 'And since you desire the favour of all the gods, and at that moment the favour of these two especially, Jupiter and Caesar will be present.' 'Tunc' refers to the prayers offered at the time of the sacrifice of the oxen (line 31), as opposed to the prayers offered to all the gods ('deos omnes') in line 30 ('faciles in tua uota deos'). In this explanation put forward by Ehwald (*Kr. B.* p. 64) I concur, but I think he is wrong in understanding 'hos' of the Capitoline deities: it refers rather to Jupiter and Caesar, the two chief gods in Ovid's parlance, whom he often joins together, e.g. *Trist.* II. 39.

In the last line, 'erunt,' the reading of the Munich MSS., is preferable to the Vulgate 'erit,' because it is idiomatic to use a plural verb with a singular nominative joined to a substantive with 'cum.' *Met.* IV. 734, 'litora cum plausu clamor superasque deorum inpleuere domos.' So in prose, *Liv.* XXI. 60, 'ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur.' Cp. *Fast.* IV. 54, 'Ilia cum Lauso de Numitore sati.'

EX PONTO IV. 8. 85

clausaque si misero patria est, ut ponar in ullo,
 qui minus Ausonia distet ab urbe, loco.

For 'distet' the Munich and some other MSS. have 'distat,' which

Ehwald (*Kr. B.* p. 64) proposes to restore. But the subjunctive is required by attraction after 'ponar': cp. I. 7. 13: 'nos habeat regio nec poma feta nec uuis, et cuius nullum cesset ab hoste latus.' So IV. 10. 71. Indicatives and subjunctives are so constantly confused in Ovid's MSS. that judgement in each case must decide what is right. See my *Tristia*, Prolegg. p. lxxvii.

EX PONTO IV. 16.

This interesting poem, in which Ovid enumerates the contemporary poets, is fully commented on by Schanz, *Röm. lit.* II. 1, p. 360 foll.

The poem consists of two propositions: (1) 'Before my exile, while I was a poet recognised by society, I had reputation' (lines 1-4). (2) 'And at the time when there was Marsus and all the rest of the galaxy of poets enumerated, my poetry was celebrated and read, though so many distinguished authors were writing besides myself. Therefore, now that I am fallen, I should not be defamed' (5-52).

The construction of 45-46

dicere si fas est, claro mea nomine Musa
atque inter tantos quae legeretur, erat.

is 'Mea Musa erat claro nomine atque erat Musa quae inter tantos legeretur.'

The punctuation of the poem is unsatisfactory in the editions. At line 4 there should be a full stop at 'erat.' At line 5 begins a long series of protases, each contained in a couplet, or sometimes in a single line. There should be a semicolon at the end of each couplet, till lines 41-44, 'te tamen—dedit,' which should be placed in a parenthesis, since the verb changes from past, 'cum foret,' etc., to present, 'non ausim silere.' 'Among the many poets,' says Ovid, 'I cannot forget to mention you, Cotta.' The parenthesis is suggested by 'adpellandorum' in line 40. At line 45 the apodosis is introduced, and the full stop comes at 'erat.'

There is much difficulty as to 33-34

Tityron antiquas † passerque rediret ad herbas,
aptaque uenanti Grattius arma daret.

Line 33 is corrupt: some of the solutions proposed, none in my opinion satisfactory, are given by Schanz, *Röm. Lit.*, l.c. p. 355. The whole couplet appears to allude to the poet Grattius, the pentameter to his *Cynegetica*, in direct reference to the words of Grattius, line 22

lusus
carmine et arma dabo et uenandi persequar artis.

The corrupt hexameter is by many, as by Schanz, supposed to refer to a lost Bucolica by Grattius. This seems to me to be the most probable hypothesis. Accepting it, I propose to read

Tityron antiquas pastorem exciret ad herbas.

'Cum' is understood from line 31 two lines above. Grattius summoned

Tityrus to take his place once more on the old world pastures ('antiquas herbas'), pastures sung by poets of long ago. For 'antiquas' cp. *A. A.* III. 405

cura deum fuerunt olim regumque poetae,
praemiaque antiqui magna tulere chori.

HALIEVTICA.

This short didactic poem on fishes, cited by Pliny as *Halieuticon*,¹ is inscribed 'Versus Ouidi de piscibus et feris' in the Vienna MS. Probably its title was *Halieuticon Liber*, as that of Grattius is *Cynegeticon Liber*, and 'Versus Ouidi de piscibus et feris' may conceal an alternative title, thus, 'Halieuticon liber siue de piscibus et feris.' It cannot be questioned that the *Halieutica* is the genuine work of Ovid, a trifle with the composition of which the exiled poet amused himself at the close of his life. The precise references to and citations from the poem as we have it which are found in Pliny (*N. H.* XXXII. § 11-13 and § 152-153) preclude any doubt as to its authenticity. The opinions that have been advanced to the contrary, that it is the work of a later poet which Pliny mistook for that of Ovid, or that it is a forgery made up from Pliny's quotations, cannot be seriously maintained. It is incredible that Pliny could have mistaken the work of another for that of Ovid, and no forger could have been ingenious enough to have forged this poem. The sceptical view has been supported with much minute, often irrelevant learning, by Birt, *De Halieuticis Ouidio poetae falso adscriptis* (1878), and has been refuted, amongst others, by A. Zingerle, *Kleine philologische Abhandlungen* II. pp. 1-44, and F. Vollmer, *Rhein. Mus.* LV. pp. 528-530.

I quote two recent judgements on the matter by two consummate critics :

'In dem Zustand, in dem wir die Schrift haben, lag sie auch Plinius vor; es ist daher ein Zweifel an ihrer Echtheit vollständig ausgeschlossen. Da Ovid das Gedicht in der letzten Zeit seines Exils verfasste, wird er durch den Tod an der Vollendung desselben verhindert worden sein.' Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, II. 1, p. 338.

'Le reste n'ajoute rien aux titres d'Ovide et ne vaut pas que l'on s'attarde à discuter l'opinion de Birt contre l'authenticité, opinion réfutée d'ailleurs par Zingerle et par Bährens.' Plessis, *La Poésie Latine*, p. 461.

It must be assumed that we have in this poem the genuine work of Ovid, but that, as it was written at the end of his life and not finally completed, it is of the nature of a rough draught. It is therefore likely to contain things at variance with the perfection found in the best works of the great artist, and and which he would probably have removed, if he had lived. And this in fact is what we do find.

In the *Classical Quarterly*, I. pp. 275 sqq., Mr. Housman has drawn attention to certain irregularities in the prosody of the poem. He says: 'Those who believe that Ovid wrote the halieutica, or that Pliny read it, must either renounce their beliefs or else find means to rid the poem of a feature which renders both alike incredible: its false quantities.'

¹ 'Mihi uidentur mira et quae Ouidius prodidit piscium ingenia in eo uolumine quod Halieuticon inscribitur.' Plin. *N. H.* XXXII. § 11.

As I believe that Ovid wrote the *Halientica*, I propose to consider these irregularities.

First, there is the scansion of 'milui' as a disyllable, line 95

hippuri ceteres et nigro terгоре milui,

of which, says Mr. Housman, 'the first certain example is some forty years later than Pliny's death and a whole century later than Ovid's: Iuu. ix. 55, 'tot miluos intra tua pascua lassas.' Synizesis is indeed used seldom by Ovid, and is generally of a normal character as 'cōnūbiō' (*Met.* VI. 428), 'aūreō' (*H.* vi. 49). More unusual are 'Āntiūm' (*Met.* XV. 718), 'ārcuātō' (*Met.* XI. 590). It is probable that this scansion of 'milui' is one of those roughnesses which Ovid would have removed if he had lived. His scansion of 'arcuato' shows that such synizesis was possible to him: and Ovid's scansion 'milui' may have influenced Juvenal. The fact that the word 'larua,' trisyllabic in Plautus, became a disyllable in classical Latin, and that 'tenuis' is sometimes three and sometimes two syllables shows that Ovid would have found no difficulty in scanning 'miluus' as a disyllable (see Lindsay, *Lat. Language*, p. 46). He may well have started it. Things must begin somewhere.

Secondly, there is the scansion of 'anthias' as a dactyl in line 46

anthias his, tergo quae non uidet, utitur armis.

I agree with Mr. Housman that the word cannot be scanned as a spondee, since such synizesis in dealing with a Greek word was for a Roman poet impossible. I disagree with him when he denies that it can be a dactyl. Everybody knows that in Greek it is a cretic. But Ovid, located in exile on the Black Sea, when writing of fishes, may well have drawn his knowledge from local fishermen, Greek settlers who spoke the local vulgar Greek dialect, by no means the same as classical Greek. The importance of the fish trade of the Black Sea made its fishermen not negligible authorities.¹ The poet may well have preserved the pronunciation of his informants.

The shortening of long vowels is an obvious indication of the vulgar dialect (Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 75). Even in classical Latin the long -as and -es of Greek substantives tended to become ā; thus 'Perdiccas' and 'sycophantes' became 'Perdicca' and 'sycophanta' (Roby, *L. Gr.*, i. p. 163). It is probable enough that ἀνθίας became shortened in its final syllable in the vulgar dialect. In fact, even Quicherat's suggestion is not impossible: 'Velim esse Ānthiās, ādos, nisi obsit graeca uox' (*Thesaurus Poeticus*, p. 77). Ovid does complain that he lives in an environment of alien tongues, *Trist.* III. 14. 47

Threicio Scythicoque fere circumsonor ore;

and from *ex Ponto* III. 9. 17

saepe aliquod uerbum cupiens mutare reliqui,
iudicium uires destituuntque meum.

saepe piget (quid enim dubitem tibi uera fateri?)
corrigere et longi ferre laboris onus,

¹ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 440. Plin., *N. H.* XXXII. § 152, 'his adiciemus ab Ouidio posita animalia, quae apud neminem alium reperi-

untur, sed fortassis in Ponto nascentia, ubi id uolumen supremis suis temporibus inchoauit.'

it is evident that towards the end of his life he wrote less carefully. See also *ex P. I.* 5. 3 foll., and Zingerle, *Kl. ph. Abhandl.* II., p. 41.

Thirdly, there is the strange false quantity 'pompile' as an antibacchius in line 101

qui semper spumas sequeris, pompile, nitentes,

the name of which fish, *πομπίλος*, is a dactyl in Greek poets (Erinna, fr. 1. 1; Oppian, *Hal.* I. 186), and there is the equally strange antibacchius 'mormyres' in 110

et rarus faber et pictae mormyres et auri,

the name of which fish in Greek is *μορμύρος*, a dactyl, Anth. *Pal.* VI. 304. 4, *μορμύρον ἢ κίχλην ἢ σπάρων ἢ σμαρίδα*. In both these cases I see the influence of the abnormal pronunciation of the semi-barbarous Greek fishermen of the Black Sea. Such influences are always at work in language. If I say that I am sailing for the port of Genoa I pronounce the name of that city in a different way to that which I use in ordering Genoa cake of a pastrycook. The spell of the pastrycook's tongue is then upon me.

I conclude therefore that the evidence of Pliny for the authenticity of the *Halieutica* is overwhelming. It cannot be declared to be unovidian on account of these metrical peculiarities. They are there; there is more than one of them; for this there must be a common cause. This cause I am content to find in the influence of vulgar Greek pronunciation, a factor which cannot be neglected in dealing with Latin literature. It came upon Latin early, and came to stay. Thus *ἄγκυρα* appears in Latin as *anchōra*, *βράχιον* as *brachŭm*, *βαλανεῖον* as *balinĕum*, *balnĕum*, *πλατεῖα* as *platĕa*, *Σήνωνες* (Polyb.) *Οὐάσκωνες* (Strab.) as *Sĕnōnes*, *Vascōnes*. Thus the Plautine *Accheruns*, *Accillies* are due to the vulgar Greek pronunciation of *χ* as *k-kh*; and 'the word *trīcae*, whose origin has been traced to South Italy . . . seems to be nothing but the Greek *τρίχες* in a Latinized form.'¹ Thus the coin *Philippus* 'is always scanned as a tribrach in Plautus, just as we tolerate a mispronunciation of the word "three" in "threepence." But the name *Philippus* . . . has the "literary" pronunciation.'²

HALIEVT. 2

uitulus sic namque minatur

qui nondum gerit in tenera iam cornua fronte.

sic dammae fugiunt.

Birt (*Halieut.*, p. 13) objects to 'sic namque' because 'namque' is superfluous,' and 'sic' without it would be more natural, as producing the figure anaphora, 'uitulus sic—sic dammae—sic scorpius—leuis sic ales,' and Vollmer (*Rh. Mus.* LV. 528), following the same line of criticism, removes the difficulty by reading 'manca' for 'namque' (he prints 'manca' in his edition), comparing Prudent. *Peristeph.* II. 231, 'errorque mancum claudicat,' and expres-

¹ Lindsay, *Lat. Language*, p. 58. Another etymology of 'tricae' besides that of Lindsay is

given in Walde, *Lat. etymol. Wörterbuch*, p. 791.

² Lindsay, *Captivi of Plautus* (1900), p. 24.

sions like *Copa* 3, 'saltat lasciua.' It is a far cry from Ovid to Prudentius. Ovid uses the uncommon word 'mancus' once only, *Fast.* III. 826

et licet antiquo manibus conlatus Epeo
sit prior, irata Pallade mancus erit.

Though a carpenter be more skilful than Epeus, if Pallas be unfavourable, he will lose the use of his hands, be powerless. The word is there used in its strict sense, with relation to the loss of a limb, the hands. But the calf that has not yet grown any horns could hardly be said to have lost them. Therefore I think 'manca minatur' is inappropriate, and could be used only of a calf that had been divested of its horns.

'Namque' on the other hand, is appropriate as introducing the series of illustrations of the proposition that the world has received its law. It has distributed arms among all creatures, and made them careful of self-preservation. For the calf which as yet has grown no horns makes believe to strike.

'Namque' is placed third word as *Met.* II. 474, 'adimam tibi namque figuram.' XIV. 312, 'cum duce namque meo Circe dum sola moratur.' Verg. *Aen.* I. 444, Kühner, *L. Gr.*, II. 715. 'Namque' is the certain conjecture of Sannazarius, which is usually accepted, for 'manuq'; the reading of the Vienna MS. The corruption 'manuque' is an instance of multiplication of letters, a common source of error in MSS., possibly due to the mispronunciation of the scribe. The same error appears in the Vienna MS. at 26, 'atque atque' for 'atque'; 49, 'et cetera' for 'cetera'; 60, 'denuntiate' for 'denuntiat'; 70, 'aurate' for 'aurae'; 114, 'merolateque' for 'merulaeque'; 124, 'soleate' for 'soleae,' which examples I take from Haupt's apparatus Criticus (*Halieut.*, Lips., 1838). The same error appears often in the MSS. of Catullus, as I have pointed out in my note on Catull. 116. 7, as 63. 5, 'iletas' for 'ili'; 64. 3, 'Fasidicos' for 'Phasidos'; 66. 6, 'guioclero' for 'guro.'

The calf attempting to butt with hornless brow is a commonplace. *Ov. Am.* III. 13. 15

et uituli nondum metuenda fronte minaces.

Iuuen. xii. 7

quippe ferox uitulus

. . . qui uexat nascenti robora cornu.

Mart. III. 58. 11

uitulusque inermi fronte prurit in pugnam.

VI. 38. 8

sic uitulus molli proelia fronte cupit.

Claud. IV., *Cons. Honor.* 383

sic pascua paruus

uindicat et necdum firmatis cornibus audax

iam regit armentum uitulus.

But though the calf is said to butt, and to butt having no horns, he is not said to butt ineffectively. For Ovid's 'nondum metuenda fronte' is only another

way of putting Martial's 'inermi fronte.' For these reasons I cannot accept Vollmer's 'manca.'

Birt further objects to 'iam,' which he takes with 'nondum' because 'iam' when compounded with an adverb of negation is equivalent to 'non amplius,' which is 'contrarium uoci *nondum*.' This is futile, for 'iam' belongs to 'tenera,' 'his brow now tender'; it means the same as Martial's 'inermi' and 'molli fronte.' 'Iam' is often joined with an adjective, as *Iuu.* iii. 206, 'iamque uetus cista'; *xi.* 127, 'iam nimios capitique graues.'

HALIEVT. 53-57

inpiger ecce leo uenantum sternere pergit
agmina et aduersis infert sua pectora telis,
quoque uenit fidens magis et sublatior ardet
concussitque toros et uiribus addidit iram,
procidit atque suo properat sibi robore letum.

In line 55 'quo' means 'in proportion as.' It should not be altered into 'quomque,' as by Schenkl, followed by Vollmer. The meaning is 'in proportion as he advances with more confidence and rages with more spirit, he meets destruction sooner.' For the omission of 'eo' answering to 'quo,' cp. *Tac. Hist.* I. 14, 'quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat' (see Dräger, *Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*, § 181).

HALIEVT. 65

et capto fugiens ceruus sine fine timore.

Mr. Edwards, in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, prints 'cauto,' the conjecture of Heinsius, without remark, as though it were the MS. reading. 'Capto' is the reading of the Vienna MS., and should not be altered. 'Capere timorem' means 'to conceive fear,' like 'capere spem' (*Fast.* II. 334), 'capere gaudia' (*Trist.* V. 8. 21). It is strange that so learned a scholar as Birt, in his eagerness to defend it, should cite in its support 'capere iram' (*Met.* VI. 610), which means 'to restrain one's rage,' and 'capere animos' (*A. A.* III. 557), which means 'to captivate the affections,' phrases which are quite irrelevant.

HALIEVT. 67

nam capiunt animis palmam gaudentque triumpho.

Ovid is speaking of the noble instinct of horses. Birt objects to 'capiunt' because 'animis nemo facile coronam prehenderit.' He therefore conjectures 'cupiunt' (*Halieut.*, p. 23), which Gütling accepts. But 'capiunt animis' means 'understand in their minds,' viz. appreciate, as *Liv.* IX. 9. 14, 'somnia laetiore, quam quod mentes eorum capere possent.'

S. G. OWEN.

NOTES ON THE *NATVRALES QVAESTIONES* OF SENECA

A NEW text of the *Naturales Quaestiones*, prepared by A. Gercke, was issued by the Teubner Press in 1907. Thirteen years earlier Gercke had, in his *Seneca-Studien*, prepared the way for a new recension by an elaborate classification of the MSS. An Appendix to the *Seneca-Studien* is the *Studia Annaeana* (1900), now unfortunately out of print. These works are an indispensable introduction to the study of the text; and they have cost their author an amount of labour which it would be ungracious to utilize, as I propose to utilize it, without very ample recognition. In what follows I shall be largely occupied in criticizing Gercke. I wish, therefore, to begin by allowing the immense debt under which he has put all students of the *Naturales Quaestiones*. His classification of the MSS. is in itself a fine achievement, and not, I conceive, likely to be challenged. Gercke has, moreover, a very fair perception of the *relative* merits of his numerous MSS. He has, for example, done excellent service in exposing the inferior character of what used to be regarded as our primary authority for the text, the Berlin MS. *E*. He cherishes, again, no delusions about the rather perplexing Geneva MS. *Z*. He has rightly called attention to the paramount importance of the Paris MS. *H*. I fancy, indeed, that if he and I were to place the codices which he enumerates in an order of merit there would not be any great disagreement between us. I differ from Gercke, in fact, not upon the question which MSS. are the best, but upon the hardly less important question which are essential for criticism. I should be inclined to say of Gercke, in a word, that he was a good critic but not a good editor. He cannot persuade himself to leave on one side what has cost labour, or what has been achieved by ingenuity. He crowds his apparatus with the variants of MSS. which he knows to be interpolated at all points—exactly as he crowds it with emendations of which more than half are at the least very improbable. Gercke discovered early—as any one must—that Seneca has always been remissly read, and that he has been left to second-rate critics. Having himself an alert, and even captious, mind, he has been able by a close attention to discover not only a great many hitherto unregarded faults in the text, but also the true remedies for some of these. But he sows with the sack and not with the hand, so that together with not a few brilliant corrections, he has introduced into both text and notes, numberless conjectures

which are unnecessary, confusing, and irritating. I would say, in passing, that he has no notion at all of framing an apparatus that can be followed without a close attention of mind. The form of his notes is so cramped that nearly every important note has to be read twice before it can be understood, and even then the report of readings (and of emendations) is given so obscurely that it is sometimes impossible to discover what is meant. The symbols used are often not explained, nor are they even used consistently throughout. I had read two books before I discovered that the symbol *Ge.* stood, not, as I had supposed, for a late MS., but for Gercke himself—even this remains no more than a brilliant guess! Who, or what, *Wim.* and *Bong.* are, I shall perhaps never know—nor yet the distinction between *Fort.* (which for a long time I interpreted as *fortasse*) and *Fortun.*, *Schult.*, and *Schultess* (both of them poor critics in general).

Gercke divides the MSS. into two main classes, which he calls Δ and Φ . Both classes he regards as essential for the reconstitution of the text. On pp. 29-30 of his *Seneca-Studien* he raises the question whether the Δ class can claim 'einen selbständigen Werth.' This question is answered in the affirmative on the strength of thirteen passages of the first book in which the Δ class offer a true, the Φ class a false, reading. It might be thought that I ought to deal with these passages one by one; but it will, I think, be sufficient if I give them below in a footnote,¹ and I merely ask the reader to consider whether he ever in any MS. saw thirteen more obvious examples of 'emendation.' To be plain, the matter is not worth discussing. For Gercke himself admits that the Δ class has been everywhere subjected to a thorough-going process of revision and interpolation. How, then, he can think these thirteen passages exempt from the suspicion of interpolation passes belief.² He would have been upon stronger ground if he had based the claim of these MSS. to independent authority on two passages where they supply, or seem to supply, a lacuna in the other class of codices. These passages are cited, for a different purpose, by Gercke, on p. 35 of the *Studien*. The first is 2, 12, 1, where the Φ class offers this:

fulguratio ostendit ignem, fulminatio emittit; illa, ut ita dicam, comminatio est et conatio sine ictu.

The Δ class add the words *ista iaculatio sine ictu*. At first glance it looks as though these words had been lost from Φ by haplography (*ictu . . . ictu*)

¹ 1, 1, 15 coire Δ , ire Φ ; 1, 5, 5 reddunt Δ , reddant Φ . *ib.* unaquaque Δ , unaquaeque Φ . 1, 5, 7 reliqua Δ , aliqua Φ . 1, 6, 1 quod Δ , quo Φ . *ib.* poterunt Δ , potuerunt Φ . 1, 11, 1 quid eas uocem Δ , quid eas Φ . 1, 13, 1 uera Δ , a uero Φ . 1, 13, 3 autem Δ , enim Φ . 1, 14, 4 transilit Δ , transtulit Φ . 1, 15, 2 diminutionem Δ , re (-de *corr.*) minutionem Φ . 1, 15, 7 speculis Δ , populis Φ (not unimpressive: the rest of the sentence re-written by an interpolator, however, in Δ !). *ib.* exciperentur Δ , erip(*recip-corr.*) erentur Φ . *Praef.* 8 and 1, 15, 4 I omit since there the advantage lies wholly with Φ . (1, 15, 4, indeed, Gercke must be supposed to have included by an accident.)

² He cites nothing from Books ii.-vii.; but it would not, I think, help him much if he did, though he could easily have found more convincing passages.

and faithfully preserved in Δ ; and it is certain that something has been lost. Yet I feel sure that the supplement in Δ is merely conjectural. Not only is the combination *illa . . . ista*—for *illa . . . haec*—so far as I am aware, without example; not only is *iaculatio* a word not elsewhere employed by Seneca; but—and this is what seems to me decisive—the supplement offered by Δ is, in itself, inadequate, for the reason that Seneca must, in the words that have been lost, have said something about *tonitrua*. For the sentence which Gercke quotes is immediately preceded by this sentence (which he has, accidentally, suppressed):

tria sunt quae accidunt: fulgurationes, fulmina, tonitrua quae una facta serius audiuntur.

Something, therefore, must have been added about *tonitrua*: and Δ does not supply us with what has been lost, but at best only with a part of it; and it is most natural, in view of the extensive interpolations in other parts of these MSS. (interpolations which Gercke is as ready to recognize as I am), to regard this part as a purely conjectural supplement.

The other passage where Δ supply a lacuna is 2, 33:

nunc ad fulmina reuertamur, quorum ars in haec tria diuiditur: quemadmodum interpretemur, quemadmodum exploremus.

The casual reader will say at once, 'Where is the third of the three divisions mentioned?' It is lost in Φ . But Δ adds *quemadmodum exploremus* before *quemadmodum interpretemur*: and at the end of the sentence has *exoremus* for the *explorems* of Φ . This is very likely what Seneca wrote; but I think it was a correction not beyond the conjectural powers of the scholar to whom we owe elsewhere in Δ numberless conjectures of immense ingenuity. His text, after all, told him plainly that a threefold division was required.

These two passages would, in fact, be impressive¹ save that the Δ MSS. come to us with so bad a character on other grounds. There are one or two other passages—not dealt with by Gercke—where Δ fills in plausibly a presumed lacunae—e.g. 2, 12, 6 <*nec exilire*>, 2, 18 *ictus inaequalis*, 6, 32, 9 <*feres*>. I am not able here to deal in detail either with these or with a number of variants in Δ which certainly merit attention. It must suffice here to have dealt briefly with those passages on which Gercke himself mainly relies as indicating the independence of Δ . I am satisfied if I can set up in a few readers of Gercke's text an active suspicion of this family of MSS. I feel, at any rate, that the whole question of their independence needs reconsidering—and by some one, let me add frankly, who has analyzed all the minutiae of the MS. data in a manner more thorough than has been possible for me. Meanwhile, if I might put dogmatically a view of the textual problem which seems to me truer than that of Gercke, I would say this.

¹ Mainly because the omissions in Φ look as haplography. though they might easily be explained as due to

The first duty of the next editor of Seneca will be to rid the Apparatus of the *Naturales Quaestiones* of the endless lumber of Δ readings. His next duty will be to do what Gercke, on his own principles, ought long ago to have done to cast aside the MS, known as *Z* (and the readings of L^2 , which Gercke himself rightly recognizes to have been introduced from *Z*). *Z* is a comparatively early MS. (saec. XII.), and highly interesting. But its interest for criticism is only the interest which attaches to a pre-Renaissance MS., in which some scholar of real accomplishment has occasionally restored by conjecture a true reading. *Vixere fortes ante Poggium*—that is the only lesson to be learnt from *Z*. It is rarely that this lesson is put to us so convincingly; but the study of other MSS., in other authors, is gradually helping us, against our natural prejudices, to recognize the existence of a refined Latin scholarship in periods hitherto held innocent of such a thing. I do not think that Gercke seriously dissents from this view of *Z*. But why he persists in citing this MS. I no more know than I know why, having said that L^2 is derived from *Z*, he continues to cite it as though it were not. Two other MSS. so hopelessly interpolated as to be valueless are the Paris *T* and the once much vaunted Berlin *E*.

Let us see what we are now left with. We have dismissed the Δ class. The Φ class is split up by Gercke into three sub-classes, which he calls θ , λ , and ρ . Of these the best is undoubtedly, as Gercke holds, θ . It is represented by *EFGH*. Of these MSS., as I have said, I agree with Gercke in thinking *H* the best MS. we have. *G* appears to be more closely allied to it than any other; but *G* has been examined only very imperfectly, and a primary duty of the next editor will be to collate this MS. in full. *F*, which belongs to my own college, Merton 250, is inferior to either *H* or *G*, but possibly deserves to be fully cited. Gercke's collation of it is endlessly defective and not always accurate. Of *E* I have already spoken. The sub-class λ is represented by *JKLMO* (why editors allow themselves such barbarisms in their notation as *J*, I have never understood). Of these *J* is an inferior twin of *K*, and, as perhaps derived from *K*, may be dispensed with. *M* consists merely of excerpts of slight value. *O* is marred by endless carelessnesses, particularly in the matter of omissions. The best representative of this sub-class is undoubtedly *L* (or rather L^1). This MS. by itself is, perhaps, a sufficient representative of its family. If we need another it will have to be *K*. The third sub-class of the Φ group is ρ . In this sub-class I can discover no independent merit. Its only claim to note is that it has preserved entire 2, 48, 1; but so has the deeply interpolated *Z*. This entirety is pretty certainly achieved by conflating θ and λ (or possibly Δ and λ). Gercke adduces no examples of independence from this sub-class, and I think we might well relieve the Apparatus of its readings.

We need, then, a new Apparatus to the *Naturales Quaestiones*, in which the principles adumbrated by Gercke shall be carried—as, for reasons which I cannot guess at, Gercke does not carry them—to their logical conclusion; an

Apparatus, that is to say, in which four MSS., or at most five, shall figure, viz., *HGFL(K)*. In what follows I shall take account only of these *codices*—where I refer to any others, it will merely be for the purpose of exposing their unreliable character. In what I have said I have not, of course, attempted to prove in detail the scheme adumbrated. The proof of it is to be sought in a study of Gercke's Apparatus, and in the further information furnished by his two volumes of *Studien*.

In the criticisms and suggestions here offered I depend entirely for the report of readings upon Gercke. I have not done more myself than examine the two Merton College MSS., of one of which Gercke entertains a high opinion. (The later of the two I have only glanced at.) The numbers attached to my Notes refer to *page* and *line* in Gercke's edition. This is not an ideal method of citation, but any other would be necessarily very cumbrous, and Gercke's edition is likely to remain for some time the standard text.

2, 1-3 cum disco . . . quid sit deus, totus in se tendat an et ad nos aliquando respiciat

intendatur *Madvig*: *secedat*?

3, 22 sqq. o quam ridiculi sunt mortalium termini, *ut* ultra Istrum Dacus non exerceat imperium, Haemo Thrace *se* includat, Parthis obstat Euphrates

ut *ante* ultra *addidi* exerceat *scripsi*: exeat *codd.* Thrace *se scripsi*: Thraces *codd.*

5, 3-4

paucissimorum dierum spatium, si nauem suus ferat uentus.

For *ferat uentus* there are variants from Δ , *uentus impleuit* and *impleat uentus*. These could perhaps be explained by an original *si sinus impleat uentus*—*nauem* being a mere gloss upon *sinus*. But, from what has been said of the character of Δ , it seems far more likely that *impleat* is merely interpolated.

7, 27-8, 3 quemadmodum nubes collisae mediocriter fulgurationes efficiunt, maiore impetu impulsae fulmina, sic quanto illa minus pressi aeres minoresue, tanto leuiores lumina emittunt.

illa minus pressi aeres *scripsi*: illas minus presseris *codd.* lumina *scripsi*: fulmina *codd.* (*illa=ibi*; *fulmina* is clearly a blunder:—for *lumina* cf. 7, 22 *minora lumina excutiuntur*).

8, 9-10 acrior sit Caniculae rubor, Martis remissior.

Martis would seem to be a blunder for *Veneris*—the symbol¹ ♀ being mistaken for ♂. At any rate I know of no writer who attributes to Mars a *remissus color*, and he is usually represented as of a peculiarly fiery hue.

18, 24-25 nec dubium cuiquam relinquitur quin arcus solis imago sit male expressi ob uitium figuramque speculi.

For *expressi* (which is of course quite possible) we should perhaps, in view of 26, 24, solis imago cuius exprimendae capax non est, write *expressa*.

¹ At 258, 24 the symbol ☉=*Sol* has been lost before the first letter of *obumbratur* (Skutsch).

19, 23-20, 1 nunc nihil ad rem pertinet quomodo uideamus quodcumque uidemus : sed quomodi imago similis reddi debet e speculo.

quomodi (uel quoiquali modi) scripsi (= cuimodi, for cuiuscuiusmodi) : quomodo codd.

20, 19-20 in unam imagines non coibunt, sed unaquaeque in se similitudinum *seriem* claudet.

similitudinum *seriem scripsi* : similitudinem in se rei codd.

21, 13-16 alioquin, ut ait Nero Caesar disertissime,

colla Cytheriacae splendent agitata columbae

et variis coloribus pauonum ceruix, quotiens aliquo deflectitur, nitet.

Gercke interprets *alioquin* by 'uebrigens.' No: *alioquin* . . . *et* means 'not only is it true that . . . but also'—the usage is illustrated in the lexicons.

22, 13-15 non enim idem facit si undique effulsit, et ad hoc opus est radiorum idoneus ictus.

Perhaps si undecumque effulsit, set. The variant *idonea locatio*, found in Δ, arose from *ictus* read as *locus*.

23, 9-11 purpuram Tyriam, quo melior est saturiorque, eo altius oportet teneas, ut fulgorem suum teneat.

altius is surely a blunder for *latius*—the cloth must be spread out, it would not be the brighter for being held *high*. *teneat* gives a wholly false sense: the *ostendat* of other MSS. might do, but Seneca probably wrote *intendat* (the *in* was easily lost after *sum*).

26, 5 sqq. in nube est aliquid uitro simile, quod potest perlucere, est aliquid et aquae quam, etsi nondum habet, iam parat, id est iam eius natura est in quam ex sua uertatur.

For *id est iam eius natura* write *id est, essentiam eius nactura*, and excise everything from *id est* . . . to *uertatur*: the words only need to be emended for it to be seen at once that they are merely a gloss on the clause preceding (*i:eeiam* was read as *i.e.iam*).

26, 24-27, 4 ita conatur quidem reddere imaginem, quia levis est materiae et ad hoc habilis, sed non potest quia enormiter facta est. si aperta fabrica foret, totidem redderet soles quot aperuisset inspectui toros.

materiae scripsi: materia codd. aperta (=apta) fabrica scripsi: apta fabricata codd. aperuisset (=apuisset) inspectui toros scripsi: habuisset inspectores codd.

In the sentence that follows *qui quia discernuntur* etc. nothing requires altering: *qui*, which is the reading of all the good MSS., refers back to *toros*, and the *uix* which Gercke inserts after *quia* he has merely inserted because he has not perceived that *discernuntur* = *non continuantur* (not *uidentur*).

29, 24-25 quid uocem? imagines solis?

imagines? soles? *Leo*. *Malim*: *solesne an* imagines solis?

30, 9-11 sunt autem imagines solis in nube spissa et uicina in modum speculi.

uicina seems nonsensical. It is perhaps a blunder for *incurua* (i.e. *uicina* for *inc'ua*).

31, 24 debent autem hae nubes quae hoc praestant densae esse, leues, splendidae, planae, *imaginaturae* soles.

imaginaturae scripsi: *naturae codd.* (*nacturae* would perhaps be just possible). For *solis* I have written *soles* (*naturae solis similes*, *Leo*: if this be what Seneca wished to say a simpler correction would be <ut> *natura est (ē) solis*.

32, 13 sqq. horum plura genera conspiciuntur: sunt ut ei cum uelut corona cingente introrsus ingens caeli recessus est similis effossae in orbem specus: sunt pithiae cum . . . etc.

For *sunt ut ei* Gercke gives *sunt putei*. But Pliny is giving Greek names throughout. I would suggest *sunt cute* (or perhaps *ceuthe*). *pithiae* would be better written *pitheae*. In the parallel passage in Pliny, *N.H.* 2, 90, why do editors insist on retaining the false form *pitheus*, which is a mere blunder for *pitheas*?

33, 11 sqq. quia cito spatium sursum transilit et oculis nostris occurrit uniuersum per quod deiectus est.

sursum uel suum uel sursum suum codd. Perhaps *s(e)orsum*.

40, 17 sqq. tunc quoque cum antiqui illi uiri incondite uiuerent, satis nitidi si squalorem opere collectum aduerso flumine eluerant, cura comere capillum fuit ac prominentem barbam depectere, et in hac re sibi quisque alteri in uicem operam dabat.

Between *eluerant* and *cura* Gercke wishes to insert (and, indeed, has inserted) the word *parua*. Nothing could be more false, since, from *tunc quoque*, it is clear that Seneca would then be implying that in his time also the 'cura' for these adornments was 'parua'—which is precisely the opposite of what he is trying to say.

Some deep corruption lurks in the end of the sentence. I would suggest that *alteri* has taken the place of the genitive of some noun meaning 'hair-dresser.' *cinerarii*, which would give the required sense, is too far from the *ductus litterarum*. Can the right word be *comatori(i)*: (? *atori* = *alteri*)? Petronius has *acu comatoria* (21), of a hairpin, and (*seruus*) *comatorius* seems just possible in the sense of *cinerarius*.

41, 11-13 o felix paupertas quae tanto titulo locum fecit, non fecisset illa dotem si habuissent.

So the best MSS. (I have put a comma after *fecit*). Both Madvig and Leo have suggested violent changes. I see no reason for any change at all, and would render: 'O blessed Poverty that made such glory possible but would

not have left room for it if they (the daughters of Scipio) had had a dowry to begin with (if their family had possessed wealth).’ *illa* refers back to *paupertas*, which is practically personified. Poverty was the cause of this great distinction, but she would not have been the cause of it if the daughters of Scipio had not been too poor to receive the ordinary marriage portion. There is a slight illogicality, but it is that of an epigram missing fire.

45, 7-10 *rursus quasi pars est sanguis nostri, et tamen est materia: prae-
parat enim idem alimentum et nihilominus in numero eorum est quibus totum
corpus efficitur.*

ī

*alimentum scripsi: alia codd. (ali was taken for alia). I have further
written idem for the id or et of the MSS., and have accepted the et tamen of
several of the interpolated MSS. as against the qui et tamen of the others. The*

ī

contraction *ali* for *alimentum* is given as fourteenth century in Cappelli, but the MSS. of Seneca bear witness to an archetype which contained many contractions which lack attestation (so far as our knowledge goes) from early MSS. The subject is one on which we are still very insufficiently informed. At N.Q. p. 136, 26 *generabitur* is accepted as a certain correction of the MSS.’ *gloriabitur*. But this implies a confusion of *glābitur* and *gnābitur*—both of which contractions, therefore, must be of considerable antiquity. The date and character, I may say in passing, of the Archetype of our MSS. has not been adequately investigated. A proper investigation would yield, I fancy, some notable problems. The Archetype was clearly in a minuscule hand: a hand, incidentally, in which *autem* and *enim* easily lent themselves to confusion (see e.g. 20, 1: 61, 3: 146, 8; but Lindsay has recently pointed out, *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1912, that we must be cautious what inference we draw from this confusion in MSS.). But the remarkable thing about the MSS. of Seneca is the thoroughgoing and repeated recensions to which the different groups have been subjected since their separation from the common minuscule stock. (The Archetype is scarcely older than saec. ix.)

45, 26-46, 6 *pars quare sit non puto te interrogaturum, ut neque inter-
rogas quare caelum pars sit: quia scilicet non magis sine hoc quam sine
illa uniuersum potest esse; quod cum in his universi summa est ex quibus
usquam alitur, ex hac alimenta omnibus animalibus, omnibus satis, omnibus
stellis diuiduntur . . .*

in *ante* his *addidi: uniuersi summa scripsi: uniuersis codd. (uniuersum dett.)*

ā

*(uniuersis is a misunderstanding of uniuersi s.= uniuersi summa) quibus usquam
scripsi: quibus quam codd. alitur addidi ('the sum of the universe consists in
the materials everywhere of its nourishment').*

These proposed changes are not, I think, more drastic than those of most editors—of whom Gercke is the least satisfactory. Why Gercke should refuse

to accept Kroll's certain correction *ut neque (aeque codd.) interrogas* I am not able to divine.

47, 9-10 *nonne intenti spiritus opera sunt?*

Perhaps *opera* fiunt (*opera* abl. sing.).

47, 17 *nonne aeris intentione partes suas explicant?*

Gercke's comment I find unintelligible. *explicant* appears to be put for *explent* (unless *explent* be the true reading).

51, 16 *hae tot partes.*

The best MSS. have *haec*. Why Gercke prefers *hae* I cannot surmise, *haec*, as the rarer form, is clearly preferable, and the *c* might easily have been lost before *tot*.

52, 2-3 *nec tamen eodem modo totus afficitur sed aliter alibi et partibus inquietus ac turbidus est.*

The text can hardly be sound. Perhaps for *et partibus* we should read *nec paribus* <*uicibus*>.

52, 9-12 *sed ceterae quoque stellae non minus terrena quam incumbentem terris spiritum afficiunt et circuitu suo occursuue contrario modo frigora modo imbres aliasque terris turbide iniurias mouent.*

circuitu scripsi : *cultu (uel ortu dett.) codd.*

54, 20-21 *ita non descendit ignis sed praecipitatur et deducitur.*

decutitur or *deicitur* seems more likely than *deducitur*.

60, 15-17 *nec hoc tantum in his debere credi ac siderum quorum ingens in confesso potentia est.*

For *ac siderum* read *consideramus* (= *csideram'*). This is as near as Madvig's suggestion, and does not, as does his, necessitate our receiving the *debet* of the inferior MSS. (I find it difficult, moreover, to believe that *accidere* (Madvig) could easily have passed into *ac siderum*).

61, 13 *quomodo, inquit, cum dicatis ignis hanc esse naturam ut petat superiora, fulmen terram petit? aut falsum est hoc aut falsum est quod de igne dixistis.*

The words italicized are my own supplement.

62, 10-12 *quomodo ergo possunt gignere ignem, quem non ueri simile est ex nube quam ex aqua nascitur?*

ET have *feri* for *nascitur*. This is, no doubt, the merest interpolation. But it seems to point to *nasci* as the true correction. Yet Gercke has actually printed in the text his own conjecture *nasciturum*! Adeo grammatici nostri ea quae quibus puer Romanus sciebat neglegunt, nos autem senes ea operose quaerere cogimur quae magistri nostri olim tradere debebant! (Lachmann,

Lucr. p. 207), *nascitur* arose from *ex urbe nascitur* following (which, no doubt, itself needs explanation).

63, 5 sqq. *quidni?* *maiorum nostrorum memoria*, ut Poseidonius tradidit, cum insula in Aegaeo mari surgeret, spumabat interdiu mare et fumus ex alto ferebatur: nam demum (deinde *JKLMO*) prodebat ignem, non continuum sed ex interuallis emicantem fulminum more . . . *etc.*

Madvig altered *nam* to *nox*, with the approval of Gercke and the world—a correction palaeographically singularly improbable. I suspect that for *interdiu* we should read *interdum* ('for a time'), and then, for *nam*, *una* (with *deinde*). For a while there was just smoke, then smoke accompanied by (*una*) flame. (Presently there was a discharge of rocks and stones).

72, 10 sqq. *permitte mihi illam rigidam sectam tueri eorum qui excipiunt ista et nihil esse aliud quam aegrae mentis solatia existimant.*

The corruption perhaps goes deeper than the various remedies proposed suggest. Possibly *qui extispicum ista nihil* is not more remote than most of the emendations recorded by Gercke.

74, 8-13 *ista nobis opponi solent ut probetur nihil uoluntati nostrae relictum et omne ius fati faciendi traditum.*

A much-vexed passage where none of the proposed corrections satisfy. I would hazard *relictum, et non nisi ius fati patiendi traditum.*

76, 3 sqq. *omnia ista urunt sed genere et modo differunt: quodcumque combustum est utique et ustum est, at quod ustum est non utique combustum est: item quod accensum est (potest autem illud ipso transitu ignis ussisse) quis nescit uri quidem nec ardere, nihil autem ardere quod non et uratur?*

Save *autem* for *enim* (see on 45, 7-10) I have altered nothing but the punctuation—following here a suggestion of Gercke. I see nothing the matter either with the sense or with the Latinity. Seneca is distinguishing *uro* = burn, *comburo* = burn up, *accendo* = fire, *afflare* = scorch, *ardere* = blaze.

76, 17 sqq. *haec adhuc Etruscis philosophisque communia sunt: in illo dissentiunt quod fulmina a Ioue (fulmina nouem, the best MSS.) dicunt mitti et tres illi manubias dant.*

So Gercke's text (a Ioue ΔE). But compare Pliny, *N.H.* 2, 138: *Tuscorum litterae nouem deos emittere fulmina existimant, eaque esse undecim generum: Iouem enim tria iaculari.* This passage would seem to guarantee *nouem* to Seneca: in that case we shall have to correct *illi* (which Δ omits) to *Ioui*.

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[To be continued.]

CLAUDIUS AND THE *PRIMORES GALLIAE*:

A REPLY AND A RESTATEMENT.

IN the April number of the *Classical Quarterly*, Mr. H. J. Cunningham calls in question my interpretation of a passage in the speech of Claudius on the claims of the Gallic chieftains, which I will follow his good example by quoting in full. It forms the first legible sentence of Column II.

‘Sane nouo m[ore] et diuus Aug[ustus au]unc[ulus m]e[us] et patruus Ti. Cæsar omnem florem ubique coloniarum et municipiorum, bonorum scilicet hominum et locupletium, in hac curia esse uoluit. Quid ergo? Non Italicus senator prouinciali potior est? Iam uobis, cum hanc partem censuræ meae adprobare coepero, quid de ea re sentiam, rebus ostendam. Sed ne prouinciales quidem, si modo ornare curiam poterunt, reiciendos puto.’

That this statement represents not only the practice, but the deliberate policy (*uoluit*) probably of Augustus, certainly of Tiberius, as to the admission of senators from outside Rome, will, I imagine, be admitted by all. The only question is whether any geographical limitation is to be placed upon the phrase ‘*coloniae et municipia*,’ or in other words, whether a ‘*municipalis origo*’ generally, joined, of course, to respectability and wealth, was by these emperors made the condition of eligibility to the senate, or whether, in spite of the generality of the phrase, and the addition of the word ‘*ubique*,’ we are justified in limiting this eligibility to a particular portion of the empire.

In consideration of the fact that there were a large number of colonies and *municipia* in provinces like Narbonensis, Baetica, Tarraconensis and Africa, and that ‘*ubique*’ could not have been inserted without some reason, I have, as Mr. Cunningham complains, given to the latter word its full force, and translated it ‘throughout the empire.’ As the logical result of this interpretation, I have assumed that, under the conditions of eligibility thus laid down by the first two emperors, Roman citizens belonging to the provinces named above might be, and were, admitted to the senate, but that the Gallic chieftains, about whose want of a ‘*municipalis origo*’ there can be no doubt, would be excluded.

I was, of course, aware that Mr. Furneaux had given a different and a narrower meaning to the phrase ‘*coloniae et municipia*,’ taking it as equivalent to ‘the towns of Italy,’ an interpretation which would limit ‘*ubique*’ to mean ‘throughout Italy.’ In his note to *Ann.* III. 55, he infers from this passage of the Speech of Claudius that Tiberius admitted many senators from Italian towns, and refers back to his note on I. 79, 10. On the latter passage he says that ‘these terms (*coloniae et municipia*) are constantly used together by Tacitus (*cf.* III. 55, 4; IV. 67, 1; XV. 33, 3; *Hist.* II. 20, 1; 56, 1; 62, 4; etc.) to designate the towns of Italy.’ If Mr. Furneaux had expressed any strong view as to the policy of either Tiberius or Claudius in this matter, I certainly should not have ignored it, but, as these notes seemed more or less incidental, and I thought his references far from convincing, I did not notice his suggestion. Since, however, Mr. Cunningham has restated Furneaux’s interpretation of

the phrase 'coloniae et municipia,' adding to the references cited above some not altogether happily selected ones of his own, and claims by their means to show that 'the one piece of evidence which I can produce in support of my explanation gives it no support whatever,' I propose to examine the imposing array of passages which are adduced to establish this statement.

Mr. Cunningham hardly does justice to my position when he says that I 'apparently think that the colonies and *municipia* alluded to are those in the provinces.' On the contrary, my whole argument, as well as my translation of 'ubique' implies that they are the towns of that description both in Italy and in the provinces. I do not, of course, deny that the great majority of the 'noui homines' spoken of in *Ann.*, III. 55, came from Italian towns. Mr. Cunningham simplifies the issue by asserting not only that the phrase 'coloniae et municipia' is constantly used of Italian towns, which in its distributive sense nobody will deny, but that it 'so comes to be an equivalent for Italy.' To prove this last point, on which his whole argument depends, he prefixes to Furneaux's references the following: *Lex agr.* 31; *Sall. Cat.* 17 and 58; *De bell. Gall.*, VIII., 50; and *Mon. Anc.* 21.

As all these passages are cited with the sole object of proving that the phrase in question is 'equivalent to Italy,' it is curious that Mr. Cunningham should think it relevant to remark that 'in most of these passages' (he might have said 'in all') 'the context shows that Italian towns are meant.' The whole question involved in this passage of the speech is whether the words 'coloniae et municipia' are to decide the meaning of 'ubique,' or whether that word is to decide the extension of the phrase. As there were notoriously a large number of colonies and *municipia* outside Italy, it would seem natural to let the context in each case (and here it is the word 'ubique') decide the range of the expression. If this is objected to, it can only be on the ground that 'coloniae et municipia' was not only a description of Italian towns, as indicated by the context, but such a recognized synonym for 'Italy,' and so independent of any context, as actually to limit, as in the present case, the usual wide meaning of a word like 'ubique.' Considering the point he has to prove, Mr. Cunningham would have been wiser to keep out of sight, what an examination of his references will soon enough reveal, that it is in every case the context and not the phrase itself which fixes the reference to Italy.

But what is even more surprising after all this marshalling of evidence to prove the equivalence of the phrase to 'Italy,' is the fact that in only two passages out of twelve is it used collectively at all, and that in the other ten, so far from being equivalent to Italy, it is merely applied to certain Italian towns strictly limited by the context as to number or locality or both.

I will not apologise for taking Mr. Cunningham's references one by one. He presumably depends upon their cumulative weight, and he shall have the full benefit of it.

1. *Lex Agr.* 31. Mention is made here of certain 'coloniae seu municipia ciuium Rom. nominisue Latini' to which public land 'fruendus datus est.' They are, of course, Italian towns, because this part of the law is dealing only with land in Italy, and because in 111 B.C. there were, with a solitary exception or two, no colonies or *municipia* outside Italy. As the expression is not only not used collectively of all towns within this class, but excludes all *ciuitates foederatae*, i.e., the great majority of Italian towns, it seems preposterous to cite the phrase here as 'equivalent to Italy.'

2. *Sall. Cat.* 17. After naming Catiline's associates among the senators and equites, Sallust adds: 'ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis domi nobiles.' There were still no such towns outside Italy, and again the phrase is not used collectively. It is not equivalent to 'Italy,' but to 'some of the towns in Italy.' The collective

description of Italian towns at this time would have been 'coloniae municipia et praefecturae.'

3. Id. *ib.* 58. Catiline, addressing his army, points out that their case is desperate unless they gain a victory. But if they do, 'omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt.' He does not mean that 'Italy' would be won by a single victory, but that the neighbouring towns and those along the road to Rome would open their gates and furnish supplies.

4. Hirtius, *De bell. Gall.* VIII., 50. Caesar, after spending the winter in Gaul, hastens into Italy, in order to recommend Antony's candidature for an augurship to the 'municipia et coloniae.' The passage is quite irrelevant to Mr. Cunningham's point. Caesar's objective was 'Italy,' because he had business with some of the Italian towns, obviously those in the proximity of his own province.

5. Tac. *Ann.* I. 79. The question was raised in the senate as to preventing Tiber floods by diverting some of its tributaries and by damming some of the lakes which fed its waters. Many towns besides the three named by Tacitus, might be injuriously affected by these operations, and accordingly 'auditae municipiorum et coloniarum legationes.' The towns were obviously all within the area directly or indirectly affected by the suggested works. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Cunningham had looked this reference up before including it among passages supposed to prove that 'coloniae et municipia,' is a phrase 'equivalent to Italy.'

6. Id. *ib.* iv., 67. Tiberius, passing through Campania, though he had notified the people of the towns not to disturb his privacy, 'perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas in insulam se abdidit.' The towns are so obviously those in Campania along the emperor's route, that we need waste no more time over this irrelevant passage.

7. Id. *ib.* xv., 33. Nero, wishing for a wider audience, chooses Naples as the scene of his first public performance. Accordingly, the theatre at Naples is filled with 'contractum oppidanorum uulgus, et quos e proximis municipiis et coloniis eius rei fama acciuerat.' Again I am compelled to ask, had Mr. Cunningham verified this reference, which alludes only to the colonies and *municipia* in the immediate proximity of Naples?

8. Id. *Hist.* II. 20. Caecina, leaving his cruelty and licence on the other side of the Alps, 'modesto agmine per Italiam incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant.' The local limitation of the phrase is not less evident here than in the previous passages. The words 'per Italiam' are in contrast with 'post Alpes,' and merely mark the fact that the towns in question are south of the Alps.

9. Id. *ib.* II. 56. 'Ceterum Italia grauius et atrocius quam bello adflictabatur. Dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare rapere.' I suppose it might be argued here that 'municipia et coloniae' is a mere repetition of 'Italia.' I do not think so. Italy, as in the last passage, is used in strong contrast with the provinces. Unlike them, Italian soil was supposed to be free from war and its concomitants, and the violation of this theory is marked by the first sentence. The second gives particular instances. The towns, *i.e.*, those which lay along their line of march, were brutally treated by the soldiers. Possibly more towns are included under the phrase than in the other passages, but it is no more used collectively than in them.

10. Id. *ib.* II. 62. Among other acts of moderation and reform, Vitellius forbade Roman knights to disgrace themselves in the arena. Previous emperors had often enforced this, 'ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque . . . pretio illicere.' The qualifying 'pleraque' is of course fatal to the phrase being taken in a collective sense. It means not 'Italy,' but 'a good many Italian towns.'

In the light of this examination, it is, I think, not too much to say that these ten passages are utterly irrelevant to the point which they are cited to establish. I have reserved to the last two passages in which the phrase 'municipia et coloniae' is undoubtedly used collectively, and is applicable to all or any Italian towns. I suspect that they will not do much to help Mr. Cunningham's cause.

11. Mon. Anc. IV. 21. In this passage Augustus makes a statement which is equivalent to saying that he remitted the *aurum coronarium* to the whole of Italy, and he uses the words 'municipiis et coloniis.' But those who have followed Mr. Cunningham's argument will be surprised to find that he does not use them alone, and that the actual statement is 'Italiae municipiis et coloniis . . . remisi.' Does Mr. Cunningham really think that this is an instance which he has a right to cite of 'municipia et coloniae' being 'equivalent to Italy?' If he does, he is following some canon of logic unknown to me.

12. Tac. Ann. III. 55. 'Noui homines e municipiis et coloniis ac etiam prouinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti.' This is the only passage which Mr. Cunningham quotes, and I wish that I had remembered it when I was dealing with the subject. It occurs among some general reflections on the period between Actium and the accession of Galba, but I believe that it refers to the time of Augustus or Tiberius, though it was no doubt true under Claudius, if not under Nero. It is undoubtedly a statement that senators were adlected from Italy and the provinces. But it is essential to remember that this is not one instance among many others of the phrase 'coloniae et municipia' standing for 'Italy,' for every one of the supposed instances has broken down. I claim, therefore, that the phrase with an open context means, what it ought to mean, all towns constituted on the Italian model. That the policy with regard to admission to the senate, certainly of Tiberius, probably of Augustus, was in some way formulated, is clear from the words of Claudius, quoted above, and also that it turned on the phrase 'coloniae et municipia.' I understand that it conditioned eligibility by an *origo* in one of these communities. The word 'ubique' was not necessary, and was probably not contained in the rule as laid down by Augustus or Tiberius, but was not unnaturally inserted by Claudius, who wished to emphasise the already established eligibility of provincials. Tacitus was presumably aware of the rule as formulated by the earlier emperors, and knew that technically it could be described by saying 'Noui homines e municipiis et coloniis in senatum adsumpti.' But as his readers were not likely to be always thinking in terms of constitutional law, he added, to make an important point explicit, 'ac etiam prouinciis,' which is really no more than the 'ubique' of Claudius. Mr. Cunningham comes to the passage with the preconceived opinion that 'municipia et coloniae' mean 'Italy,' and accordingly finds in the phrase a sharp contrast to 'prouinciae,' which by a curious *non sequitur* he thinks is made practically certain by the words of Suetonius (*Vesp.* IX), 'honestissimo quoque Italicorum et prouincialium adlecto.' Mr. Cunningham's first argument has depended on an appeal to unquoted and irrelevant references, and a misinterpretation on the strength of their supposed cumulative weight of the one relevant and important passage.

His second objection to my view will be found to rest upon a still more serious misunderstanding of the argument and order of thought in this part of Claudius' speech. He thinks, as apparently did Mr. Furneaux, that the introduction of the 'senator Italicus' into the next sentence confirms the restricted application of 'coloniae et municipia.' Claudius is here, according to Mr. Cunningham, dealing with an anticipated objection, which 'freely paraphrased,' amounts to this: 'But these were Italians, whereas you are proposing to bring in provincials, a very different thing.' But this way of putting things inevitably suggests that what Claudius proposed in 46 A.D., what the senators objected to, and what was 'a very different

thing' from anything done by Augustus or Tiberius, was the admission of provincials to the senate. In that case, to what period does Mr. Cunningham assign the statement in *Ann.* III. 55 that new men were admitted to the senate from the provinces? When were the senators of Narbonensis admitted, to whom in 49 A.D. Claudius gave the right of visiting their estates at will? (*Ann.* XII. 23) How does he explain Claudius' own statement about Vienna, that it had sent senators to Rome 'longo iam tempore'? or the fact that Valerius Asiaticus was a consular under Caligula? or the presence of the worthy senators from Lugudunum? It is abundantly clear that provincials had been admitted in some numbers by Tiberius and perhaps by Augustus, and this fact is entirely irreconcilable with Mr. Cunningham's explanation of the objection which Claudius is answering.

Besides, how can there have been any objection to Claudius' proposal at this point of the speech, when the most superficial reading of it shows that no proposal had yet been made at all? It is not until after he has dealt with Vienna and Vestinus and Asiaticus, that the emperor reminds himself that it is time 'detegere patribus conscriptis quo tendat oratio tua.' Even then, the actual proposal is postponed for half a dozen lines, and, when it comes at last, it is not a proposal to admit provincials in contrast with Italians, but to admit senators from a particular region, Gallia Comata, lying outside 'adsuetos familiaresque uobis prouinciarum terminos,' from which senators had hitherto been taken. Then, having made his proposal, but naturally not before, Claudius proceeds to deal with anticipated objections to it. It would have been well if Mr. Cunningham had revived his memory of the speech before presenting such a travesty of its argument as that involved in his interpretation. He asks why Italy and Italian senators should 'be dragged into a discussion which only concerns two classes of residents in the provinces.' They are of course dragged into no such discussion for the simple reason that Claudius has not yet reached the point at which these two classes of provincials are distinguished.

That there is a sufficient reason on my interpretation for the introduction of the Italian senator will, I think, be obvious if I too may be allowed the liberty of a 'free paraphrase.' I will venture to put the whole passage in this way:

'It was an innovation for Augustus and Tiberius to lay it down that the senate-house should be open to men of property and respectability from any colonies or *municipia* throughout the Empire' (cries of disapproval from benches on the right). 'Ah! you think that policy puts Italians and provincials too much on the same footing, and that Italians make the better senators. Well, when I come to my actual adlection, you will see that to some extent I share that feeling, but not the prejudice which would exclude provincials altogether. But to return to my predecessors' policy, look, for instance, at the colony of Vienna, etc.'

As a matter of fact, there are two points about the passage which on Mr. Cunningham's view of it are absolutely inexplicable. (1) How can the policy of Augustus and Tiberius be described as 'nouo more,' if it merely opened the senate to the towns of Italy? No one, I imagine, will deny that in Cicero's time a considerable number of senators were, like himself, new men from the Italian towns. Tacitus, indeed, makes Claudius himself speak of men, 'Etruria Lucaniaque et omni Italia in senatum accitos,' at a date before Italy was extended to the Alps (*Ann.* XI. 24). (2) Why in the very next sentence of the set speech—for Mr. Cunningham himself admits that 'quid ergo . . . puto' is a digression answering an objection—immediately following upon the phrase 'coloniae et municipia,' does Claudius take as an instance the colony of Vienna? Surely the only reason can be that it fell under the colonies just alluded to.

Mr. Cunningham concludes with exhorting any with whom my theory may have

found acceptance, to return to the view of Professor Pelham. Fortunately the value of Professor Pelham's view does not depend on the success of his supporter to prove mine untenable. Nor is there any occasion to return to what no one need have relinquished. Professor Pelham showed that the citizenship granted to the Gallic chiefs could not have been anything analogous to the old *ciuitas sine suffragio*, and that the *ius honorum* could not have been separated from the other rights of the *ciuitas*. With both these points I am in entire agreement. I also agree with his contention that all provincials and almost all Italians were on exactly the same footing as being ineligible for the senate, unless the emperor did for them one of two things. He might give them the *latus clavus* with which they could become candidates for the quaestorship, and so, if elected, pass into the senate; or, he might by his censorial competence adlect them at once into the senate 'inter quaestorios.' We further agree that by one or other of these methods provincials from Narbonensis and Spain had already got into the senate, but that so far no emperor had come to the relief of these chieftains from Gallia Comata or their ancestors.

It is in the explanation why the Gallic chiefs were treated differently that I venture to think Professor Pelham's statement ambiguous and in need of supplement. When he says 'the real obstacle in the path of these noble Gauls was the fact that . . . they had not the broad senatorial stripe,' it is obvious that he is merely stating the disability and not explaining it, for why did not the emperors give the broad stripe, as they did to other provincials? But though the sentence I have quoted strikes one as insufficient, I think, from reading his paper again, that the real obstacle in Professor Pelham's opinion was the deep seated Roman prejudice against these Gauls, and the fact that, through their wealth and the number of their retainers, the chiefs were more powerful and possibly more dangerous personages than the ordinary provincial aspirant to the senate. Like Mr. Cunningham, I 'see no serious objection to this view,' though I would note that the prejudice, if stronger against the Gauls, was clearly felt against all provincial candidates, and that the possession of wealth and even of retainers (*gentiles*) had not prevented the advancement of Valerius Asiaticus.

But even if we assume, as I think we may, with Professor Pelham, that Augustus and Tiberius identified themselves with this prejudice, and regarded the admission of these chiefs to senatorial dignity as an experiment too hazardous to be tried, what attitude were they to take up towards the chiefs themselves, some of whom would be sure to ask for what other provincials received? To put a refusal on the real grounds, if these were the real grounds, would have been too inconsistent with the policy of conciliation towards Gaul, of which Augustus gave so many proofs, and would have turned these powerful chiefs into open malcontents. This is where I believe that my theory may usefully supplement Professor Pelham's explanation of the situation. How was the new imperial principle of not excluding provincials as such from an official or senatorial career to be reconciled with the necessity, dictated by reasons of state, for at least marking time in the case of Gallia Comata? Even those who do not accept my hypothesis will not deny that there was a very marked and essential difference between the administrative organisation of the Tres Galliae with its practical absence of colonies and *municipia* and the thoroughly urban organisation of Italy, Spain, and Narbonensis. But if this distinction is so patent to us, is it too far-fetched to suppose that Augustus, who more than anyone else was responsible for it, should have used it as a solution for what can hardly have failed to be a delicate question? To me, at any rate, the principle, as set forth, *pace* Mr. Cunningham, by Claudius, appears in the light of a solution not unworthy of the diplomatic finesse, which from first to last was the most conspicuous characteristic of Augustus. There was not a word about exclusion or disqualification; it was a broad

and generous manifesto of inclusion. More than this; it was obviously and logically the next step forward in advance of the course taken in this matter under the late Republic, when senators had been freely admitted from the municipalities of Italy. Suitable men were now to be eligible from colonies and *municipia*, wherever they were found. There was no indication therefore of any intention to bar the way against anyone. But when from time to time Gallic chiefs demanded what Augustus was not prepared to give, it was possible to point out with tact and politeness that their *ciuitates*, having been expressly organised in such a way as not to stifle national life or national aspirations, did not exactly fit in with the municipal system usually adopted, and on which unfortunately admission to a career in Rome had been made to depend. This may not always have satisfied ambitious chiefs, but at least they were made to feel that it was the imperial system which blocked their way, and not considerations which would have wounded their individual and national susceptibilities. It was very easy, too, as Claudius proved, in spite of senatorial prejudice, to remove the obstacle whenever it seemed advisable, and it can hardly be doubted that the first step taken in 46 A.D. towards its removal was wise and statesmanlike.

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THE PAEAN OF PHILODAMOS OF SCARPHEIA.

LINES 53 to 56 stand thus in Weil, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* xix. 393 sqq., and Weir Smyth's *Greek Melic Poets*, p. 525:

"E]ν[θεν ἐ]π' ὀλβίας χθονὸς	53
Θελ[ξινόας] ἔκελσας, ᾶ	
Στῆσε μένος τ(ε) 'Ολυμπί[ας]	55
[Εξορ]ίαν τε κλειτάν.	

Weil supposes this to mean 'the land which ended the anger of the Olympian goddess, and Dionysos' famous exile': (the context speaks of his wanderings); and the goddess he takes to be Hera. But in l. 55 the stone has ΣΤΗΤΕ, and στῆσε is Weil's correction of what he supposes to be an error: the letters in brackets are also his restoration. All this is far-fetched, and dependent on this alteration in the text: *ἐξορία* also is a late and rare word. The stone has preserved the reading correctly

ΕΚΕΛΣΑΣΑ | ΣΤΗΤΕΜΕΝΟΣΤΕ,

that is, ἔκελσας ᾤστη τέμενός τε, which Weil has divided wrongly. We may then restore the lines thus:

"E]ν[θεν ἐ]π' ὀλβίας χθονὸς	53
Θεσ[σαλίας] ἔκελσας ᾶ-	
στη, τέμενός τ' 'Ολύμπι[ον,	55
[Πιερ]ίαν τε κλειτάν.	

Θεσσαλίας, 'Ολύμπιον and Πιερίαν suit the context. There appears to be some uncertainty how the third letter in l. 54 should be read: Weil, p. 405. Τέμενος 'Ολύμπιον I take to mean 'the sacred region of Olympus.' For Dionysos and Pieria cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 565, μάκαρ ᾧ Πιερία, σέβεται σ' Εὐνιος.

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SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 35. No. 2. 1914.

G. M. Bolling, *The Archetype of Our Iliad and the Papyri*. It is probable that all the MSS. of Homer come from a single archetype, though Cauer's argument from Γ 453 (based on the necessity of accepting the correction *ἐκευθον* *ἀν*) cannot be sustained. The study of the vulgate papyri shows that (when allowance has been made for their accidental omissions) a number of lines have been inserted in the *Iliad* since 150 B.C. About one-fifth of these lines omitted by the papyri introduce speeches after a verb of speaking has already been employed. All the rest can be omitted without detriment, and are omitted in many MSS., and none can be proved to have been in Aristarchus's text. Lines only *athetized* by him do appear in the papyri. E. W. Fay, *Varroniana* de Lingua Latina. *Part I*. A sheaf of notes critical, syntactical and etymological on book V. of Varro's treatise. R. B. Steele, *The Participle in Livy*. A miscellany of details of usage and statistics relating mainly to the past and present participles.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1914.

June 6. Adolf Clausen, *Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse im Altertum* (Eberhard). H. Mutschmann, *Tendenz, Aufbau und Quellen der Schrift vom Erhabenen* (Ammon). O. Hartlich, *De Galeni Ὑγιεινῶν libro quinto* (Kind). H. Magnus, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV*, rec. app. crit. instr. H. M. (Ehwald). Very highly praised.

June 13. O. Kramer, *C. Valeri Flacci Argonauticon libri VIII*, ed. O. K. (Helm). The reviewer discusses the Praefatio at some length. W. Strehl und W. Soltau, *Grundriss der alten Geschichte und Quellenkunde*. 2. verm. u. verb. Aufl. Bd. I (Lenschau). A good guide to controversial questions and the literature about them (down to about the middle of 1913).

June 20. E. Täubler, *Imperium Romanum. Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des römischen Reiches. I. Band: Die Staatsverträge und Vertragsverhältnisse* (Soltau). Very highly praised. A. Merlin, *Forum et églises de Sufetula*. Notes et Documents publiés par la Direction des Antiquités et Arts. Mit 5 Tafeln und 11 Abbildg. im Text (Oehler). Shows the results of the work done by the French from 1906 to 1911.

June 27. O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* (Wissowa). Contains 74 papers, 15 of which were read to the Berlin Academy, but have not been printed before. Most of these latter deal with the Republican period, some with the early Empire. R. Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*. Bd. II. Baubeschreibungen und geschichtliche Erläuterung (Köster). An expensive book (58 M.) with 22 Tafeln, 119 Textabb.; it shows how Roman building developed in the last two centuries B.C. under Greek and Oriental influences.

July 4. K. B. Bitterauf, *Der Schlussteil der Aristotelischen Biologie*. Beiträge zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik der Schrift 'de generatione animalium' (Stadler). L. Dalmasso, (1) *La formazione delle parole in Palladio*; (2) *Il vocabolario tecnico*

di un tardo scrittore georgico. Contributo alla semasiologia palladiana (Schmalz). W. Riezler, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen.* Nach A. Furtwänglers Auswahl. Textband: XI, 143 S. 56 Abb. Tafelband: 98 Tafeln. 300 M. (Pagenstecher). V. Macchioro, *Le Terme romane di Agnano* (Behn). K. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik.* Vierte verm. Aufl. bearb. von A. Thumb (Meltzer). Recommended to all teachers of Greek, not only to the specialist in the history of language.

July 11. J. T. Allardice and E. A. Junks, *An Index of the Adverbs of Plautus* (Schmalz). It is a pity that only the Oxford text has been used. W. M. Lindsay, *S. Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome.* Thewrewkianis copiis usus ed. W. M. L. (Goetz). Praised. F. Dölger, *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit.* Gesammelte Studien (Bauer). Nineteen papers by various writers. E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Behn). Very highly praised.

July 18. E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (K. F. W. Schmidt). Important for the study of Greek religion. Seeks to trace by such names as Διογείτων the original site and the extent of the worship of various gods. The author thinks that Athena came to Athens relatively late from Boeotia; the reviewer says that the name of the goddess and of the town date, like the names of the rivers and mountains of Attica, from a time before the coming of the Greeks. E. Babelon, *Moneta* (Küthmann). Discusses the origin of the word and the development of its meaning. J. Wackernagel, *Über die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Meltzer). The reviewer gives a summary of this interesting 'Festrede.'

July 25. R. von Pöhlmann, *Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus* (Bardt). Second edition, considerably enlarged. T. Sauciuc, *Andros.* Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Topographie der Insel (H. v. Gaertringen). Valuable.

Classical Philology. Vol. 8. No. 3. 1913.

R. C. Flickinger, *Tragedy and the Satyric Drama.* Defends the 'goat-song' etymology and rejects the 'goat-men' speculations. A. Shewan, *The 'Continuation' of the Odyssey.* Detailed defence of the genuineness of *Od.* 23. 296 to end so far as relates to A 'Language and Verse.' E. W. Fay, *Catullus carmen 2.* In favour of the tradition on the whole. E. B. Clapp, *The Pindaric Poems of Theocritus.* On Theocr. xvi, xvii. R. G. Kent, *The Vedic Path of the Gods and the Roman Pontifex.* The pontifex made or kept in order the *pontes* ('paths') between the worlds of the living and that of the gods and the dead. J. P. Postgate, *Propertiana.* On five passages of books III and IV. E. H. Sturtevant, *Studies in Greek Noun-Formation.* On nouns in -ψ. J. A. J. Drewitt, *A Note on the Augment.* Max Radin, *The Wife of Gaius Gracchus and her Dowry.* P. Shorey, *On Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* vii. 7, 1149B, 31 sqq.

Vol. 8. No. 4. 1913.

E. T. Merrill on *Cic. Fam.* xv. 20, *Verg. (?) Catal.* 10 and *Ventidius.* There is no allusion to Ventidius. F. E. Robbins, *The Creation Story in Ovid Met.* i. His account is essentially Stoic. Lynn Thorndike, *A Roman Astrologer as a Historical Source.* On Julius Firmicus Maternus. C. C. Mierow, *Adverbial Usage in Euphrius.* J. A. Scott, *The Assumed Duration of the War of the Iliad.* R. B. Steele, *The Future Periphrastic in Latin.* P. Shorey, *Note on Aristotle, Ethics* ii. 3. 5 (1104 b 21); S. E. Bassett, *πανταλωθείς in Soph. Ant.* 134, means 'treated like Τάνταλος' 'hurled down.' J. A. Scott, *A Note on Herodotus* i. 86. The expression σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι is explained from II Sam. 8. 2 (LXX).

Vol. 9. No. 1. 1914.

B. L. Ullman, *Dramatic 'Satura.'* A discussion and interpretation of the well-known passage of Livy (VII. 2 §§ 1-12), which gives an account of the origin of both tragedy and comedy. Livy in his wish to produce a logical scheme of the

development of the drama has brought together two pairs: *a* (the Etruscan dances), *b* (the *iocularia*, § 5); and *c* (the *saturae*, § 7), *d* (the *fabulae*), §§ 8 sqq.), which are not closely related, by linking *c* to *b*. The burlesques mentioned by Livy gain support from the account of the *pompa* of the *ludi Romani* in Dionysius Hal. VII. 72 (from Fabius Pictor). Allen B. West, *Formation of the Chalcidic League*. Numismatic and other evidence shows that there was a real Chalcidic league formed about 432. A. Shewan, *The 'Continuation' of the Odyssey*. B. *Imitation*. Summarizes the general case against the view that repetitions are marks of spuriousness; and deals in detail with *Odyssey* 24. 39 sq., 156-8, 165 sq., 235-40, 248, 368 sqq., 397 sqq., 410, 479 sqq., 534, 535 (Agar's *ὀπί*, *Homericæ* 152 sq.). Tenney Frank, *Representative Government in the Macedonian Republics*. On the reconstitution of Macedonia by the Romans after the deposition of Perseus (167). There was (1) a representative body (the *boule*), (2) with legislative power, (3) whose ordinances, like those of modern States, were binding over the territory. A. R. Anderson, *Studies in the Exclamatory Infinitive*. A full treatment of the construction from Naevius to Horace, supplemented by examples from prose writers of that period and the principal instances of its occurrence in Greek. Tracy Peck points out that the centre of the book-trade in the 2nd century A.D. was in the *Vicus Sandaliarius*.

Vol. 9. No. 2. 1914.

Margaret C. Waites, *The Form of the Early Etruscan and Roman House* (with nine illustrations). The Etruscan house, after the hut-stage, was built round a large open court. Some time between the First and Second Punic Wars the *Atrium Tuscanicum* was invented. G. M. Calhoun, *Documentary Frauds in Litigation at Athens*. Examined and exemplified under the heads *Wills*, *Other Private Documents*, *Depositions*, and *Ecmartyriae*, *Official Documents*, *Miscellaneous*. In actual practice the production of original documents was not regarded as very important. Francis A. Wood, *Greek and Latin Etymologies*. On fifty-nine words. A. Shewan, *The 'Continuation' of the Odyssey*. C. The NEKYIA. Defence of this against objections based on the description of Hermes as *Κυλλήνιος* and as *ψυχοπομπός*, and his conduct of the Suitors' souls to Hades before burial, the Land of Dreams of v. 11, the nine Muses of v. 60, etc. A. R. Anderson, *The Unity of the Enclitic ne*. M. Warren's theory of a dual origin for interrogative and affirmative (confirmative) *nē* cannot be maintained. The latter is a development of the former, which is to be connected with the negative particle *ne* (*ni*). A. Shewan discusses (against J. J. Drewitt) 'the Homeric Augment again.' T. Frank has a note on Pompey's 'expansionist' policy and support of the interests of the Equites in B.C. 70-66.

Vol. 9. No. 3. 1914.

Kendall K. Smith, *A New Fragment of the Decree of Cremonides*. Reconstruction of the inscriptions in Kirchner's revised volume of Attic inscriptions Nos. 686, 687 with a new text. Max Radin, *Gens, Familia, Stirps*. In Livy's use *gens* is restricted to patrician families; *familia* is applied to both patrician and plebeian. Cicero's employment is not quite so strict. *Stirps* is never used for a division of a 'gens.' A. C. Johnson, *Attic Archons from 294 to 262 B.C.* A new chronological arrangement with a sketch of the history of the period. J. J. Schlicher, *The Historical Infinitive*. On its simple form (denominated the *infinitivus impotentiae*) as it occurs before Sallust. The instances are collected and arranged under six heads, according to the meaning of the verbs. Its primary function is to express the effect of a strong impulse or feeling. W. L. Westermann, *Apprentice Contracts and the Apprentice System in Roman Egypt*. A connected presentation of the usages and regulations affecting apprenticeship to the various *τέχναι* (i.e. trades or professions) as deduced from the papyri. Under *Execution of a Vestal and Ritual Marriage* E. T. M. criticizes Miss Harrison's explanation of the ceremonial attending an erring Vestal's immurement.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1914.

June 6. H. Böhlig, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos* (Stählin). The carefully collected material is insufficient to enlighten us as to St. Paul's upbringing. The author's scholarship is very defective. G. Lippold, *Griechische Porträtstatuen* (Hekler). The portraits of Epicurus, Metrodorus and Hermarchus are now established.

June 13. J. Scham, *Der Optativgebrauch bei Clemens von Alexandrien* (J. H. Moulton). The frequency of the mood shows that Clemens wrote for the learned world. F. Krohn, *Vitruvii De Architectura libri decem*, ed. F. K. (Kraemer). Includes an interesting introduction.

June 20. P. Rabbow, *Antike Schriften über Seelenheilung und Seelenleitung* (Ringeltaube). This first part deals with the treatment of Anger, and shows that Seneca's treatment in Bk. 2 of the *De Ira* depends on Posidonius, and Bk. 3 is a rhetorical development of Bk. 2. W. Brewitz, *Scipio Africanus Maior in Spanien* (Grosse). A careful dissertation.

June 27. O. Hense, *L. Annaei Senecae Epistulae*, ed. O. H., and J. Buck, *Seneca De Beneficiis und De Clementia in der Ueberlieferung* (Bickel). Hense's second edition has the advantage of deducing the text of older MSS. from their later transcribers. Buck endeavours unsuccessfully to maintain the authority of the Nazarianus.

July 4. L. Laurand, *À propos d'Homère* (Max Wundt). A clear statement of the modern suspicion of Homeric criticism. W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*. 3 Aufl. (Pollak). This indispensable work is now much enlarged. A. Steiner, *Der Fiskus der Ptolemäer* (Zucker). Untrustworthy.

July 11. V. G. Jaeger, *Aristotelis De Animalium motione, De Animalium incesso; Ps.-Ar. De spiritu*; ed. V. G. J. (Mutschmann). An excellent edition by the scholar who has proved the genuineness of the *περὶ κινήσεως*.

July 18. J. Charpentier, *Die Desiderativbildungen der indo-iranischen Sprachen* (Güntert). Not helpful. C. Halm, *P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt*, rec. C. H., ed. quintam cur. G. Andresen. I. (Wackermann). Has collected all valuable contributions to the literature of the *Ab Excessu* of the last thirty years; includes an excellent reasoned Index Historicus.

July 25. H. Mutschmann, *Sexti Empirici opera* I., rec. H. M. (Max Wundt). This now becomes the standard edition.

Aug. 1. J. Schroeter, *Plutarchs Stellung zur Skepsis* (Falter). Shows that P.'s criticism of the senses is influenced by the physicians and the Pyrrhonists. A. Riese, *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften* (Drexel). Includes paraphrases of some 5,000 inscriptions, either found in Germany or referring to it.

Hermes. Vol. 49. Part 3. 1914.

J. Geffcken, *Die Hirten auf dem Felde*. An examination of the Virgilian, Christian and Mithraic legends of the Adoration. Virgil was influenced by Poseidonios. W. Soltau, *Der Ursprung der Diktator*. He was originally the commander-in-chief of the Romano-Latin league. Cl. Lindskog, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Biographien Plutarchs*. A discussion of the tradition of the text of the first section of the Lives. Contains a good analysis of typical interpolations, which are shown to be often unconscious. Chr. Jensen, *Zu dem Menanderpapyrus in Kairo*. C. Robert, *Das Oxyrhyncosblatt der Epitrepontes*. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Der Feldzugsbericht des Ptolemaios Euergetes*. F. Jacoby, *Eine vergessene Horazemendation*. Revives the emendation 'Othone contento' in Epod. iv. 16 from the editio Veneta of 1478. W. Hoffa, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Senecas Tragödien*. A discussion of the MSS. of the interpolated A-group with notes on a number of passages. MISCELLAN. Th. Nöldeke, *ATBATANA*. A defence of the Greek spelling with the spiritus lenis. F. W. Hall, *Ad Ovid. Met. XV. 411*. Restoration of a medieval

interpolation in Cod. Augustanus. M. Wellmann, *Zu Philumenos* 4. 14. For ἄφρος read ἄνθρωπος (*avos*). F. Bechtel on Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 10. For Ἀγγελίδας read Ἀγγελίδας. G. Wissowa, *Zu Hor. Sat.* 1. 10. 5^a. Read *multum puerum*. O. Kern on Orphic Hymns 48 and 49. The conjecture that the name of the nurse of Bacchus was Hipta not Hippa, is confirmed by cod. Laurentianus 32. 45.

Mnemosyne. 42. 3.

J. L. V. Hartmann, *Ad Platonis Rempublicam*. Notes on text of Bks. I.-V. P. H. Damsté, *Lectiones Valerianae* (cont.). Notes on text of Bks. VII.-XI. J. J. Hartmann, *Ad Plutarchi Moralia annotationes criticae*. Notes on the *De Amore Proliis*, *An uitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat*, *Animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores*. H. considers authorship and points of text (to be cont.). M. Valetton, *De Iliadis compositione* (cont.). Valetton now turns to consider the *Patrocleia*, which is composed by a poet who accepts the first part of the *Achilleis*, but then brings in the motive of Patroclus' death in place of the *μηνίδος ἀπόρρησις*. To the *Patrocleia* belongs the great part of Bks. II.-X. Then he considers 'Qua maxime ratione ex Achilleide Ilias facta sit.' There is first the working together of the *Achilleis* and *Patrocleia*, with later writing conditioned by this joining, as the *κολὸς μάχη* of Θ. So most of NΞO is later than both the *Τειχοσκοπία* and *Τειχομαχία* and these than the greater part of ΓΔΕ, and all this writing is later than the *Patrocleia*. Later than any of these are the *Νυκτεργεσία* and *Δολωνεία*. And scattered over the other books are passages worked into the older material (to be cont.). W. Vollgraff, *Novae Inscriptiones Argivae*. Discusses an inscription dealing with boundaries of members of the Arcadian federation and fixes many points of topography. The date is soon after Leuctra, and the delimitation is made by the Argives as referees. J. J. H., *Ad Ciceronis ad Attic.* XIV. 18. § 1. For the unknown *Faberii* read *fabri*, the craftsman who made duplicate keys for Dolabella. *Ad Tacit.* H. 11. 25; for *prospera* read *propera*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. XXXIII. 6. 1914.

R. Petsch, *Die Lehre von den gemischten Gefühlen im Altertum*. A critical account of ancient views on mixed emotions, chiefly Plato's and Aristotle's, on whom all later work depends. Their faults are due to the pre-scientific roots of Greek psychology. K. Mras, *Varros Menippeische Satiren und die Philosophie*. Varro follows Menippus' form, but does not translate him. Unlike Menippus, he respects science and society, and is tolerant in philosophy, following his eclectic master Antiochus of Askalon.

XXXIII. 7. 1914.

A. Hausrath, *Die ionische Novellistik*. A study of the development of the shorter forms of ancient prose fiction: the early Ionic type found in Herodotus and the logographoi, akin to the folk-tale: a type reflected in the New Comedy and Alexandrine poetry: and the Aristides type, the connection of which with Petronius and Apuleius is discussed. Stress is laid on the Farnesina house paintings, which are held to illustrate a cycle of picaresque stories, mostly unknown, grouped round the 'clever judge' motive. H. F. Müller, *Plotinos über Notwendigkeit und Freiheit*. An enthusiastic exposition of Plotinus' religious and philosophic views.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 38. Part 1. 1914.

G. Ramain, *Sur l'emploi de l'infinitif historique*. 'The historic infinitive does not in itself imply any idea of time.' D. Serruys, *Un fragment de la Chronique d'Hippolyte de Rome*. Pap. Oxyrhynchus 870 = Hippolytus ed. Bauer, pp. 104-107. P. Fabia, *Les Prétoriens de Vitellius*, exegetical notes on a number of passages from the *Histories*

of Tacitus. E. Cavaignac, *Polybe VI.* 19. 2, et la durée du service militaire à Rome. Supports Steinwender's view that ξξ should be retained. L. Havet, *Notes critiques sur les Bucoliques de Virgile.* H. Grégoire, *Aesch. Eum.* 506 sqq. Supports σπεύσεται for πείσεται. J. E. Harry, *Eur. Ion* 1424. Read ἰδοῦ, τόδ' ἔσθ' ὕφασμ'—ᾧ τ' ἑσπάθας εὐρίσκομεν. R. Waltz, *Notes critiques*, on Seneca, Tacitus, Petronius.

Vol. 38. Part 2. 1914.

H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Les personnages épisodiques dans l'Andrienne de Térence.* H. Grégoire, *Notes sur l'Hélène d'Euripide.* Reads for 390-1, εἶθ' ὥφελος τότ' ἦ θεὸς λιπεῖν βίον; 619, κερτομεῖν = 'to mystify.' Corrections in 1321, 1353, and in *Bacchae* 983, 1002-3. R. Cahen, *Ad Bucol. i.* 70. L. Havet, *Bucoliques iii.* 100. Reads 'Eheu, quom. . . .' L. Maries, *Diodore*, 'Ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἀναστασίου. The Commentary of Diodorus of Tarsus on the Psalms was provided with marginal extracts by Anastasios. G. Lafaye, *L'âne et la vigne.* In Hyginus *Fab.* 274. 1 read <uuarum> suauitatem inuenisse. G. Mathieu, *Survivances des luttes politiques du V^e siècle chez les orateurs attiques du IV^e.* L. Bayard, *Notes sur la Vita Cypriani et sur Lucianus.* W. H. Buckler, *La déesse Julie*, *CIG.* 2815 et 3642. These refer to Livia, and not to Julia Domna. D. Serruys, *La notation ascendante des nombres dans la Chronique d'Eusèbe.* 'Eusèbe avait adopté l'usage palestinien de la notation ascendante, mais, dès avant le VI^e siècle les copistes avaient substitué la notation descendante.'

Rheinisches Museum. 69. 3.

F. Jacoby, *Drei Gedichte des Properz* (cont.). Elaborate discussion of II. 24. A. (Phillimore, II. 24. 1-16), with particular reference to v. 4, where the sense requires *aut pudor ingenuus aut retinendus amor*, a true Propertian sentiment: also of III. 8, which is to be interpreted by itself and not taken closely with III. 6. E. Lattes, *A che punto siamo coll' interpretazione dei testi etruschi?* Ingenious interpretations based on closing formulae in dedicatory inscriptions. A. Schulten, *Das Pilum des Polybios.* Comparison of Polybius' account with finds in the recent excavations of Numantia. W. Bannier, *Wiederholungen bei älteren griechischen und lateinischen Autoren.* Repetitions in authors collected and classified; defence of text in some passages where repetitions occur, and warning against cutting out words which offend our taste more than the ancients'. J. M. Stahl, *Zum Aias des Sophokles.* Defends vv. 961-970 (reading οὐ for ἦ in 916) and 1105-1117; in v. 1312 read αὐτοῦ for ἦ τοῦ, in 799 ἐλπίζειν θροεῖ for ἐλπίζει φέρειν; in 1081 παρῇ is called for by construction of πεσεῖν. J. Dietze, *Zur kyklischen Theogonie.* Argues (against Aly) that the Apollodorus version reflects a later stage of development than Hesiod. The *Titanomachy* is also later than Hesiod, and is a working over of the *Theogony* and the basis of later Orphic speculation. O. Könnecke, *Zu den griechischen Bukolikern.* Notes on Theocritus, *Epigr.* 22, *Id.* III. 28-30, VII. 5, XV. 7 (read ἐκαστέρω αἰὲν ἀποικεῖς 'each time you move you go further away'); XV. 15-7 (read with Ahrens βάντα . . . ἀγοράσδειν); XXVII. 20-1; *Mosch.* II. 37 sqq., on the golden basket of Europa. Notes on text of *Mosch.* II., III. and IV., of Simmias Ὡδὼν 9, 14, and of Dosiades, *Βωμός* 15, 18. O. Viedebant, *Antike Messungen der Landenge von Suez*: all these go back to old Egyptian measuring (in σχοῖνοι), very scientifically made. MISZELLEN: O. Seeck, *Das Epigramm des Germanus und seine Ueberschrift*: is not good evidence for Julian's birthday. A. Ludwig, *Zu Tryphiodorus, Zu Musaios.* Notes on text. H. Heimannsfeld, *Zum Text des Helladius bei Photius* (cod. 279). H. Schenkl, *Der Dichter der Ilias Latina.* To show real existence of Baebius Italicus. A. Klotz, *Zu Cic. pro Milone* 2. To refute Birt's assumption of a considerable lacuna. E. Hohl, *Reste einer Handschrift des Kollektaneums des Sedulius Scottus in Paris.* A. Brinkmann, *Lückenbrüsser.*

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Vol. 42. No. 3. 1914.

V. Ussani, *The Earliest History of Josephus' Text* (paper read before the Congress of Orientalists at Athens in 1912). In addition to Christian and 'apologetic' interpolations already recognized in parts, Josephus' works, especially the *Bellum Iudaicum*, contain alien importations of anti-Semitic tendency, in many cases probably from the lost *History* of Pliny, used by Tacitus in his *Histories*. Interesting evidence is adduced from comparisons of the Greek text with the Latin version of the so-called Hegesippus and the Slav translation of Josephus. Giuseppe Procacci, *On an Episode in Silius Italicus* (VII. 162-211). The passage, an abrupt digression from the narrative, describes a manifestation of the divine power of Bacchus in very similar language to that used by Nonnos, *Dionys*. XLVII. 34 sqq. in regard to the incident of Icarus and Erigone; and it is suggested that both writers have been using the (lost) *Erigone* of Eratosthenes. P. Fossataro, *Menander's Perinthia in Terence's Andria*. F. Schöll's views on the *contaminatio* of the *Andria* of Terence from the *Andria* and *Perinthia* of Menander should be accepted. Terence took from the *Perinthia Andr.* Act I. Sc. i., the midwife scene (cf. 228, 332 = *Fragm. Per.* 397 Kock), the character of Byrria, the punishment of Davus, *Fragm. Per. Oxyrhynchus Pap.* 855 and the character of Charinus. Also probably the δόγμα 'Επικούρειον of *Andr.* 959-60. U. Moricca, *On Lucian's πλοῖον ἢ εὐχαί* (conclusion). Further development of the view that it is a satire on human desires in general, with comparison of other works of Lucian and citation of parallels from Greek and Latin literature in general.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1914.

June 8. G. Lippold, *Griechische Porträtstatuen* (H. Lamer). 'Shows comprehensive knowledge and independent judgment.' O. Schroeder, *Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der griechischen Verswissenschaft* (J. Sitzler). O. Kraus, *Platons Hippias Minor* (H. Gillischewski). 'Rich in contents.' F. Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus* (M. Gelzer).

June 15. W. H. Roscher, *Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl* (W. Nestle). W. H. Roscher, *Omphalos* (W. Nestle). 'A well-thought-out exposition of the evidence.' E. Obst, *Der Feldzug des Xerxes* (H. Philipp). 'Valuable.' C. Blinkenberg, *La chronique du temple Lindien* (W. Larfeld). 'The most important find at Lindos.' G. Nieschmidt, *Quatenus in scriptura Romani litteris Graecis usi sint* (N.).

June 22. A. Reinach, *L'autel rustique du Mont Phylakas, Crète* (H. Lamer). A. E. Kalischek, *De Ephoro et Theopompo Isocratis discipulis* (H. Mutschmann). A defence of the tradition. T. G. Tucker, *Plutarch, Selected Essays*, translated by T. G. T. (J. Tolkiehn). 'May well fulfil its object.'

June 29. K. F. Smith, *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (G. Friedrich). 'The introduction is suitable for school use, but not the commentary.' O. Hense, *Senecae ad Lucilium epistularum moralium quae supersunt* ed. O. H. (W. Gemoll). 'Deserves unlimited praise.' Th. Mommsen, *Epigraphische und numismatische Schriften*. I. (A. Rosenberg).

July 6. J. Schaefer, *De Jove apud Cretas culto* (H. Steuding). P. Marestaing, *Les écritures égyptiennes et l'antiquité classique* (A. Wiedemann). 'Very learned and useful.' A. Gercke, *Der Christenname ein Scheltnamen* (O. Stählin).

July 13. J. van Leeuwen J.F., *Ilias cum prolegomenis, notis criticis, commentariis exegeticis. Libri XIII.-XXIV.* (F. Stürmer). E. Ernout, *Historische Formenlehre des Lateinischen*. Deutsche Übersetzung von H. Meltzer (R. Wagner). 'A continuation to Niedermann's *Historische Lautlehre des Lateinischen*.'

July 20. A. Elter, *Ein athenisches Gesetz über die eleusinische Aparche* (W. Larfeld). 'A convincing exposition.' W. Kopp, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. 9. Aufl. von M. Niemeyer (H. Gillischewski).

July 27 (double number). W. Süss, *Aristophanes*, Die Frösche, mit ausgewählten antiken Scholien, herausg. von W. S. (R. Wagner). B. Schmidt, *De Cornuti theologiae graecae compendio capita duo* (H. Steuding). P. Sternkopf, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis partitionibus oratoriis* (C. Atzert). 'Both learned and rich in results.' J. Nye, *Sentence connection, illustrated chiefly from Livy* (Ed. Wolff). 'Not without value.' G. Norlin, *The conventions of the pastoral elegy* (Ed. Wolff).

LANGUAGE.

Glotta. V. Band, 4 Heft. 1914.

This number, which was published (May 27) after the appearance of the first instalment of the sixth *Band* (April 14), contains nothing but indexes and a very valuable and complete *Report* on the linguistic books and articles of 1911. One is pleased to note the ever-increasing attention paid to medieval and modern Greek and vulgar Latin, especially the numerous monographs on the language and style of individual authors. Löfstedt's *Philological Commentary on the Peregrinatio Aetheriae* and Harmon's work on *The Clausula in Ammianus Marcellinus* come in for special praise. We have the accustomed crop of etymologies, most of them unconvincing as usual. There is a striking instance of 'subjective treatment' in a German work on the criticism of Horace, which the reviewer illustrates by the following restoration of the *First Epode*: 'Ibis Liburnae creditus sub nauium | turrita propugnacula, | curas paratus Caesaris periculo | lenire, Maecenas, tuo.'

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. XLVI. 1. 2.

Hans Hessen, *Beiträge zur altirischen Grammatik*. J. Charpentier, *Zur arischen Wortkunde*. Herman Lommel, *Klein- und Grossvieh*. Mainly the history of Gk. πρόβατον. H. Jacobsohn, *Lat. canēs*. The relation of the fem. nom. endings -ēs and -is. *Canēs* was preserved through being, at an early date, attached to the conson. stem. A. Fick, *Älteste griechische Stammverbände*. '... ein Versuch die Urgeschichte der ältesten Griechenstämme allein aus den Angaben der Alten herzustellen.' Herbert Petersson, *Einige Tier- und Pflanzennamen aus idg. Sprachen*. J. Pokorny, *Keltische Etymologien; Irische Personenamen auf -le und -re*. P. Maas, κόρταφος und κόρταλος. These forms are to be read in Plat. com. fr. 84 and Eurip. *Hypsipyle* fr. 1 respectively. F. Bechtel, *Parerga*. E. Schwyzer, *Zu den homerischen und avestischen r- n- Stämme*. In Gk. and Av. there has been a parallel extension of this type. W. Prellwitz: *Homerisch ἀμφιγνῆεις* 'der Künstler.' From ἀμφιγνῆ 'dexterity' abstract to ἀμφίγνως. F. Edgerton, *Vedic sabhā is sm-bhā = col-loquium*. F. Holthausen, *Lateinische Etymologien*. R. Trautman, *Got. mag und slav. mogo*. The latter is not a Germanic loanword. W. Schulze, *Ueber einige Collectiva*. *Vangio* in C.I.L. vi, 31149 refers to the country of origin (*Vangiones = Wortmatienses*).

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June, 1914) that λόγος means 'reason'

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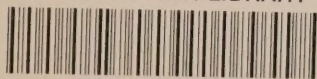
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